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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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ALWAYS SURE OF A WELCOME

IS THIS WHAT HAPPENED?

The Central News states that when Mr. Asquith and Mr. Winston Churchill arrived at Corinth they were "received with enthusiasm by the people." The "Morning Post" states that owing to the threats of Militant Suffragists the police guard on Cabinet Ministers during the holidays "has been doubled."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Parliament will reassemble on Tuesday next after the Whitsuntide recess. Though it has already decided to deny to women the right of representation, it has before it a programme of legislation in every item of which women are vitally concerned, and on which they ought, therefore, on every principle of self-government to be consulted. Let us consider a few of the principal measures of the session.

The Home Rule Bill

Foremost among the contentious measures to be introduced by the Government is the Irish Home Rule Bill, whose avowed object is to give self-government to the Irish people. The terms of this Bill are known in advance in every detail because it will of necessity be identical with the Bill thrown out by the House of Lords last year; and we therefore know that instead of giving self-government to the Irish people this Bill merely proposes to give self-government to Irishmen while leaving Irishwomen entirely out of account. Further, the Bill specifically forbids the proposed Irish legislature from altering the franchise for at least three years. To women this Bill is therefore of profound interest not merely on the same general grounds that it is of interest to men, but also because it deliberately excludes women from representation in a newly created subordinate legislature, and stereotypes their exclusion for at least three years. In these circumstances the duty of all genuine Woman Suffragists in the House of Commons is plain: they ought to vote for an amendment to include women in the Irish electorate, and failing that, they ought to vote against the third reading of the Bill.

The Welsh Disestablishment Bill

Another Bill which is to be introduced in identical form with that of last year is the Bill to disestablish the Church in Wales. By universal admission women are at least as profoundly concerned in religion and in the forms of religion as men, and it is therefore wholly improper that so momentous a step as the disestablishment of a Church should be effected without due consultation with the women of the country. We say this without expressing any opinion whatever upon the Bill itself, for we are aware that women will be as sharply divided as men as to its merits.

The Finance Bill

Among the other measures which the House will be called upon to discuss is the Finance Bill, which imposes the taxes for the ensuing year. On this will arise the question of the assessment of the incomes of married women as part of the incomes of their husbands. We have often had occasion to refer to the absurdity and injustice of the present position of the law and of the hardship which falls generally on wives, but occasionally on husbands, in consequence. This week we will quote the words of no less a person than the present Lord Chancellor,

who, speaking in the House of Lords on October 14, 1912, on the case of Mr. Wilks, said:—

> The income tax and death duty laws were full of anomalies. In the case of income tax the law descended from a period when the position of married women was very different from what it was now. The case of Mr. Wilks was one where there was an anomalous state of the law which could not be defended, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had undertaken to consider it.

Apparently the result of the "consideration" of the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been (as is the case with nearly everything else in which women are concerned) to decide to leave the "anomalous state of the law" unaltered. It will accordingly rest with the House of Commons to remedy it. One attempt to do so has already been made (May 7) and ruled out of order by the Speaker; but we understand that a carefully worded amendment can be made in order at a later stage. If this fails it will be one more proof of the necessity of giving the vote to women.

The Education Bill

Another measure which is promised is a Bill dealing with Education. This is a matter on which, even by the admission of anti-Suffragists, women are not merely equally qualified, but more qualified to express an opinion than men. Have we not been told over and over again that the true sphere of woman is home and children? How can woman exert her proper influence upon the upbringing of the child if she is denied any voice in the making of the laws upon which the education of children depends? There are such important matters as the age at which a child should go to school, the character of the instruction to be given to the girls as well as to the boys, the age at which the child should be allowed to leave school. These and other questions will never be wisely settled until the mothers as well as the fathers are consulted upon them.

Insurance Amendment Bill

Last but by no means least from the point of view of women is an item in the Government programme relating to amendment of the Insurance Act. If the Act stands in need of radical amendment in many particulars, and this we have stated over and over again ever since its introduction, it needs it in none more urgently than its whole treatment of women. For many women, such as typists and other business women, the Act is simply a poll tax and nothing else, for they never will get any return whatever from it. For the sweated woman it is a fearful incubus, for in many cases she is forced to pay the employer's share as well as her own, and she sees only very small benefits in return. For the domestic servant it is both a nuisance and a drain upon her slender resources, for nearly every benefit obtained under it she secured previously free of all cost to herself. Finally, for the working-man's wife it constitutes a tax upon the family income, most of the benefit of which goes to the husband, providing him with a pension in old age while leaving her in the event of widowhood absolutely unprovided for. We look to Suffragist M.P.'s to fight for the removal of these injustices, and if they fail, to point the obvious moral.

Women as Barristers and Solicitors

Apart from the programme of the Government, Lord Wolmer has introduced a Bill to open the legal professions to women, but unless the Government give facilities it has no chance of passing into law. In the meantime, our readers will remember that an interesting case is to be fought out in the Courts as to the right of women to become solicitors under the existing law. We understand that this case is likely to be heard next week; and we accordingly have pleasure in presenting to our readers a summary of the situation as it prevails in this and other countries, specially written for us by a woman who has studied the law on the subject.

The Conspiracy Trial of the W.S.P.U.

The final hearing of the conspiracy charges against Mr. Clayton and Miss Kenney and other members of the W.S.P.U. at Bow Street took place on Thursday in last week, and in the result all the defendants were committed for trial, bail being allowed in all cases. Mr. Clark, who appeared for Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Lake and Miss Lennox, claimed that so far as these defendants were concerned no prima facie case had been made out which justified committal, and a similar line was taken by Mr. McCurdy on behalf of Miss Barrett; but Sir Curtis-Bennett declined to take this view. The cases are to be tried at the Old Bailey at the sessions commencing Tuesday next, unless the defendants secure a postponement.

The Case of Mr. Whiteley

Meanwhile in Manchester on Tuesday last the hearing of the case against Mr. Edgar Whiteley, the manager of the National Labour Press, who printed the May 9 issue of *The Suffragette*, was proceeded with. The accusation against him was that he conspired on April 29 and other dates with Mrs. Pankhurst and others to "solicit, instigate and incite" women to commit damage. Mr. Hewart, K.C., outlined the case for the prosecution, and while he claimed that within the four corners of the issue of May 9 were incitements to crime, also called evidence to prove illegal actions of members of the W.S.P.U., and incitements occurring in previous issues of *The Suffragette*. To this Sir William Cobbett, who appeared for Mr. Whiteley, took exception, but the magistrate ruled that the evidence was admissible. The case was adjourned till next Monday, bail being allowed.

The Freedom of the Press

We announced last week the decision of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and the other members of the National Labour Press to challenge the right of the police to stop the publication of a newspaper in advance, by making themselves responsible for printing *The Suffragette*. On Thursday evening after we had gone to press an official statement was issued on behalf of the Government to the effect that there was no "warrant for the suggestion that there has been any attempt to suppress *The Suffragette* newspaper before it was published or that any proceedings would be instituted against the printers and publishers of it unless after its publication it was found to contain incitements to the commission of crime or to the destruction of property." Those who are accustomed to read between the lines of official statements will not have much difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this is a long way of saying that the Government were not prepared to come into conflict with the Labour Party and preferred to climb down.

Two Interesting Sequels

There have, however, been two interesting sequels. In the first place, the W.S.P.U. decided after all to accept not the offer of the National Labour Press, but that of Mr. Francis, the printer of the *Athenæum*. This decision appears to have been arrived at before the Government statement was issued. In the second place, Mr. Drew, who printed the issue of May 2, has written to the Home Office asking for a release from his undertaking which he was constrained to give in the police court as a condition of his discharge, "that he would not print any further issue of *The Suffragette*." He has, we believe, had no reply to this request. But if the Home Office means what it says, he certainly ought to be released from it, as it was a wholly improper undertaking to have been got from him. It is much as if a man who has thrown orange peel on the pavement to the common danger were called on not to eat another orange in his life!

The Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Mr. Lawrence

The freedom of the Press is also directly concerned in the protest which Mr. Pethick Lawrence is making against the payment claimed from him on account of the costs of the prosecution in the trial of May of last year. If the present law passed in 1908 is allowed to stand unamended, a very potent weapon has been placed in the hands of the authorities with which to intimidate newspaper proprietors and printers who are supporting any section of people in revolt against the Government. This is a matter which is of especial importance to Labour newspapers, who may sometimes overstep the line in their championship of an oppressed class, and we therefore look for their support in this matter.

Arrest of Mr. John Scurr

Mr. John Scurr, President of the London Dockers, whose interesting article appears below, was arrested on Monday night on warrant and taken straight off to the police station, where he was compelled to stay the night. The charge against him related to a speech made at Leeds three or four weeks ago. On Tuesday he was conducted to Leeds and brought up in the police court, and remanded on bail till yesterday (Thursday). The main issue of the case is, of course, sub judice, but we are entitled at once to express our condemnation of the wholly uncalled-for method of arrest.

"Ulsterettes"

The inequality of the administration of justice is clearly shown in the license which is accorded to Sir Edward Carson and to a section of the Unionist Press which openly supports him in his defiance of the law in Ulster. The *Manchester Guardian*, though it draws a close parallel between the "Ulsterettes" and Suffragettes, fails to point out that the Government, which is meeting the Suffragettes with the "utmost rigour of the law," has not dared to attempt any action whatever against men who have a powerful political party at their back.

Items of Interest

We call attention to the strong speech in favour of Woman Suffrage delivered recently by ex-President Roosevelt, extracts from which we reproduce on page 487.

A London magistrate told a man the other day that in view of the scenes in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon and the difficulty of the police to preserve order, it was the obvious duty of a good citizen to stay away. We should have thought it was his duty to help to preserve order.

A special article by Miss Garrett Anderson, M.D., on the disabilities attaching to women in the medical profession will be published in Votes for Women next week.

FELLOWSHIP IS LIFE, LACK OF FELLOWSHIP IS DEATH

By John Scurr

The spirit of John Ball is eternal. Unless we drink deep of the wondrous healing waters of comradeship we shall surely die. And comradeship is impossible unless it shelters under its protecting wings both men and women. Therefore, let us welcome with a great joyousness the Votes for Women Fellowship, and under its banner let us gather, clasping hands, and vowing fealty and devotion to the cause.

Each one of us has our chosen work to do, each one must fight in our own way. Let us go on doing that which seemeth best to us, preserving our individuality as a sacred gift. Yet let us remember that while we work in our way others are also working in theirs, and let not our absorption in our own fight lead us to forget that others are fighting, too. Let not the impatient word condemn, or the intolerant criticism wound those who are not fighting our way. Remember that all of us are necessary, all of us are wanted, and under the ægis of the Fellowship we can meet and hearten each other in the struggle.

The cause we are fighting for is the greatest cause the world has ever known. It is the admission of one half of the human race to a share in the responsibilities and privileges of human progress and development. Heretofore, women have only been allowed to stand afar off, and any lustre they achieved was supposed to come to them by reason of the reflected glory of man. There has been little glory, and the reflection has been somewhat pale. For man has been much delayed in his journeying toward the City of Light, inasmuch as women have lagged behind since man would not recognise the fellowship. Yet there are laws above those of man, and the Giver of the Law ordained that men and women were one. Still, man forgot, and he endeavoured to place women in a position but little in advance of that of the beasts of the field. Thus he brought about his own undoing.

Man rejoiced in the work of his hands, he gloried in his strength, he boasted of his civilization. Yet to-day all his triumphs seem but as burnt ashes in his mouth, and he turns uneasily in this or that direction seeking for something to remove the bitter taste.

His machinery, a wonderful servant, has become his tyrannical master, a hideous Frankenstein, driving him ever onward relentlessly and without pause. His great cities have become the habitation of poor and sickly people ever steeped in misery. His Parliament is gibed and sneered at by all and sundry. His judges receive no applause for their wisdom, but are commended for their jokes. Surely never has Nemesis pursued and overtaken a people as it has now overtaken us. Every women scorned in the past, every woman wronged, every woman unjustly treated, present their demands for payment. They are importunate creditors who will not be gainsaid.

Have we as a nation the moral courage to foot the bill? We can try to make payment by lashes, by imprisonment, by gibes and sneers, by hypocritical reverence. But we will find that this is base currency which will be rejected. For fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death.

In a hundred and one homes the cool of the evening will find the man smoking and the woman darning stockings. An ideal picture, will say the "slubberimentalist." Yet a true and typical picture. The man's labour over, he rests. The woman still works, her thoughts busy over the myriad details of domestic responsibilities. Thinking of the future, of the children, wondering as to their careers mayhap, of the care of the man who sits smoking, smoking, and pluming himself on his superior intellectual outlook.

How the gods must laugh! The throne of Zeus must be shaken to its foundation, and even the clear eyes of Athene must occasionally be betrayed into a twinkle.

It is time the men woke up and took their share in the fight for the freedom of womanhood, which means in its turn the freedom of manhood. Be assured that so long as some are slaves, so long will masters be enveloped with the slave spirit, and will therefore face the great problems of life with a coward's heart. Free the slave, and cowardice vanishes even as mist before the wind of morning.

Let us all who believe in the elementary principles of Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Righteousness be up and doing. Join the Fellowship so that we may meet, not as ships that pass in the night, but as vessels of the one fleet sailing together until we all shall reach the harbour for which we are bound.

AN UNJUST LAW

THE MEANING OF MY PROTEST

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

Considerable interest and discussion has been aroused by the statement which I made last week with regard to the injustice of the law of 1908 (Costs in Criminal Cases Act, 1908), which I have fought up to the point of bankruptcy.

The *Evening Standard* agrees so far with me as to say that there is an "absence of financial equity in the law's attitude towards a prisoner found guilty and a prisoner found innocent. A guilty person can be charged with the costs of the prosecution as well as those of the defence, but the State does not take on itself what would seem to be the corresponding duty of paying all law charges of a person declared innocent. In trifling cases at the police courts a defendant who has established his innocence often finds himself compelled to pay for doing so. Court fees or some such petty exaction make him realise that perfect justice is not established even in England. On the same principle, a man who has been wrongfully convicted receives the King's pardon, not the State's apology. The law has a paltry objection to owning that it has done wrong."

On the other hand, the *Yorkshire Post* refuses to see that reasonable exception can be taken to such a law. "If people commit crimes," it says, "they have no right to ask for sympathy in the event of their being made to pay the piper." It does not consider that any complaint can be made with regard to the refusal of the Government to admit the corresponding liability to reimburse an innocent man for his costs. It proceeds:—

> It is an accepted principle of our criminal system that if the Crown prosecutes a man for crime, and loses, the Crown does not pay costs. It never has paid costs. Why should it do so? There are always two stages in a criminal prosecution such as that in which Mr. Pethick Lawrence is involved. The magistrates have to hear the evidence, and see that a presumptive case is made out against the prisoner. If no such case is shown, the man is discharged. If he is committed, there is then trial before a judge and jury, and though there may be many cases in which the full trial discloses the innocence of the accused, in by far the greater number of acquittals what is evidenced is the absence of a full and complete proof of guilt.

This is surely a most dangerous and novel proposition, entirely foreign to every principle of English law. In legal language it amounts to saying that the English verdict of "not guilty" is really equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven."

If that were so, if there were in England as in Scotland three verdicts, "guilty," "not proven," and (say) "innocent," and if in the second both sides paid their own costs and in the first and third the losing side paid both, I should not contend that there was any substantial injustice in the law. But this is not so. "Not guilty" in England means that the man has been found innocent by twelve of his fellows; and it seems to me a very serious matter that a man who secures this verdict should be put to serious loss in money, when his failure to obtain this verdict will mean that he has to pay both sets of costs as well as to undergo the punishment inflicted on him.

What I am specially concerned with is the case of offences connected with political revolt. Revolt almost invariably necessitates illegality. When reforms are not conceded from a sense of justice, the oppressed of all countries of all classes of all times have been driven to illegal action. The history of the United Kingdom teems with illustrations. The barons under King John, the Scotch under Robert Bruce, the Lollards in the Middle Ages, the martyrs under "bloody" Mary, the Parliament under Charles I., the Whig Lords under James II., the American Colonies under George III., the Irish Home Rulers in the eighties of last century, the Ulsterites to-day all have been guilty of illegal actions.

Those who take sides with revolt must therefore be prepared to face not only Government displeasure, but also Government prosecution. But they are entitled to even-handed justice. They are entitled to claim that in playing their game against their formidable enemy they shall not be confronted with loaded dice.

Originally the "Crown" made no pretence at equal dealing when it attacked a private subject. For instance, the prosecution could call witnesses to prove guilt while the prisoner could not call witnesses to prove innocence. But bit by bit these injustices were removed, until it was the boast of the English law that the prisoner stood on an absolute footing of equality with his accusers. This new law of 1908 is a backward step; it is a blow aimed at the equal justice of our criminal system, and as evidenced by its first application to myself, it is a blow likely to be specially employed in the case of political offences.

Any newspaper proprietor, editor, publisher or printer who takes sides with a section of people in revolt is liable to find himself arraigned on a charge of conspiracy. A very shadowy connection will be quite sufficient to enable a magistrate (who, it must be remembered, is in many cases definitely a subordinate of the Home Secretary) to commit him for trial. He is then certain to lose heavily whether he succeeds in proving his innocence or not. In order to clear himself against the skilful pleading of the trained law officers of the Crown he will be obliged to incur heavy expenses, and if he is successful not a penny of this will ever be reimbursed to him. If, on the other hand, he fails, he may have to pay in addition the whole costs of prosecuting not merely himself but all those who have been arraigned with him.

This law will, therefore, if it is allowed to stand, enable the Government to terrorise and intimidate all those persons of moderate means who have not at their back a great national party; and it is for this reason that, as a protest, I have suffered a receiving order to be made against me rather than pay the money.

What My Position Entails

I have had a number of questions put to me during the week as to the effect of a receiving order, and these I will endeavour very briefly to answer. In the first place, the person against whom the order is made does not at once become a bankrupt, but unless he produces and hands over the money to satisfy all his creditors his bankruptcy follows in the course of a few days. At the same time, he is subjected to detailed examination by the Official Receiver as to his affairs. His account at his bank is at once closed, and any balance there may be is held by the bank on behalf of the Official Receiver. The Receiver also can claim any and all money which would normally come into the possession of the bankrupt, and has the widest powers to investigate from bankers and others every detail of his possessions. It is therefore perfectly clear that where the bankrupt has the means to pay, the money will be obtained by the Official Receiver and handed over to discharge his liabilities, and there is no possible method of preventing this. Meanwhile his state of suspended financial animation continues until he obtains his discharge, which under the most favourable circumstances cannot take place in less than six or seven weeks, and is generally very much longer delayed.

What My Friends Can Do

I have also had a number of questions from friends as to what they can do to help. My answer is that I want them to make the facts as widely known as possible. I want them to use my case as an illustration of the injustice of the law. I want them to point out that either the clause in the law must be repealed or a corresponding law enabling an innocent man to have his costs refunded carried without delay.

Some may say that this is a side issue; so is free speech a side issue, so is the freedom of the Press a side issue, so is the treatment of political offenders a side issue, but all these and many other human rights have to be fought for in the course of our battle for Woman Suffrage. For Liberty is not finite and to be limited within the specified barriers which we may have decreed in advance; it is all-pervading and all-embracing, and our protest must be made against every form of repression with which we come into contact in the course of our struggle.

ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES

Claims for Over £2,000

The proceedings in bankruptcy against Mr. Pethick Lawrence to which reference has been made above must not be confused with the actions for damages which are to be heard in the course of the next few days in the law courts, in which Mr. Pethick Lawrence figures as one of the defendants. The bankruptcy proceedings are the remains of the *criminal* trial in May last, as the outcome of which Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst were found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, while in addition the whole costs of the prosecution were imposed on Mr. Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst and are now being collected from the former. The actions for damages are *civil* actions brought at the instance of ninety-seven firms to recover from Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst and others sums amounting in the aggregate to over £2,000, which it is alleged they suffered in loss by the breakage of windows in November, 1911, and March, 1912. These civil actions have been consolidated into two, one consisting of four firms and one of ninety-three, and it is anticipated that the hearing will take place next week. More detailed particulars of the claims are given on page 497 of this issue.

WOMEN'S HOMES

The women of England, afflicted by ills,
Came at last to perceive and to note
That to get politicians to pass any Bills,
We must bribe them by giving our vote.
So they asked for the franchise to gain them a share
In the Government's favour and grace;
But they always were told in response to the prayer
That the home was their natural place.

Now, the women who labour from morning to night
In the sweater's unspeakable den,
Sought a voice that would bring their deplorable plight
To the notice of chivalrous men;
But the wiseacres said that they shouldn't be blind
To the palpable facts of the case,
As, of course, if they troubled to look they would find
That the home was their natural place.

And the laundry girl came from the mist-laden room,
Where she toils in the vapour and heat
Till consumption has ruined her lungs and her bloom,
And has left her to die in the street.
She begged for the franchise to pass her an Act
That would save both her health and her grace;
But they asked her politely to think of the fact
That the home was her natural place.

And the prostitute came from her place on the street,
Where she stands till her purchaser comes;
The procurer's abode was her only retreat
In the midst of the pitiless slums.
She requested the vote, by its aid to obtain
Some employment that's not a disgrace;
But they sent her away to the pavement again,
For the home was her natural place.

So the women returned to the homes in the slum,
To the dens where they sweat and they slave;
To the stage and the street, till they sink and succumb
And have peace in a premature grave.
But they'll always remember the gratitude owed
To the chivalrous men of the race;
For by male legislation these homes are bestowed,
And the home is their natural place.

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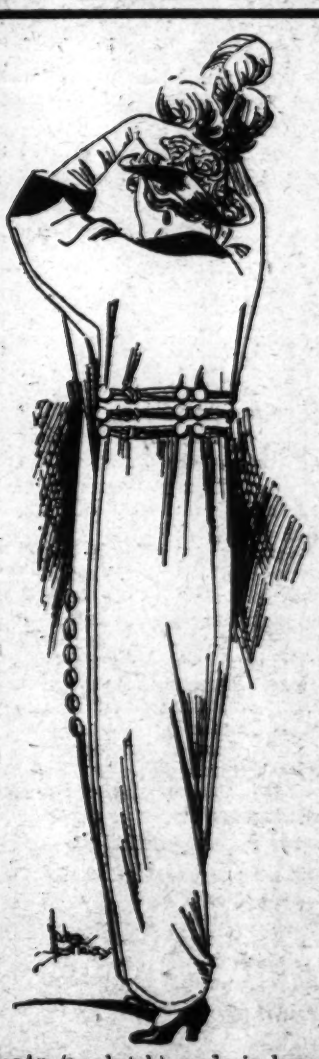

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WOMEN'S LIVES AND WOMEN'S VOTES

The Want of the Vote—The Vote in Working—Roosevelt's Advocacy

CHILD LIFE AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE

Speaking at the Leeds Conference of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Dr. Eustace Hill made the following statement (as reported in this month's *Child's Guardian*):—

"Now let me ask a question. How is legislation influenced? The whole history of the Society's work shows that it is by organised education of public opinion. And while on the subject of public opinion, let us not forget that an educated public opinion would make impossible such sentences as that of four months' hard labour, passed at the November Sessions of the Central Criminal Court, on a man for encouraging the seduction of his daughter, aged fifteen. The maximum penalty under the Children's Act for this offence is two years' hard labour. The details of the case are too horrible for description. The same remarks apply to another case, tried at the December Sessions at the same Court, when a man found guilty of attempting carnal knowledge of his wife's sister, a girl aged fifteen or sixteen, was bound over in his own recognisances in five pounds to come up for judgment if called upon."

Who are the "Public"?

The leniency of these sentences will not surprise anyone who has ever taken the trouble to follow the proceedings of our criminal courts, and we do not quarrel with Dr. Hill's assertion that an educated public opinion would make such sentences impossible. But what he says is at best only a half-truth, for such an educated and organised public opinion will not exist until women form part of the public, which at present they do not. When mothers have the same legal rights as fathers over their own children, and when women have the same direct influence over legislation as men, public opinion will stand some chance of being roused over the administration of the laws concerning the protection of children and girls, and will see to it that criminals are punished more severely for crimes against persons than for those against property.

MINDING THE BABY

The May issue of the *Child's Guardian* also contains an interesting record of what happened recently in reference to the Fabrics (Misdescription) Bill which has been introduced into Parliament, and is a Bill to prohibit the sale of any textile fabric that does not conform to the standard of non-inflammability required by the Home Office. In the Bill as originally drafted flannelette was specifically mentioned as an article of danger, and this fact produced a circular addressed to Members of Parliament, signed by 127 manufacturers, protesting against the express mention of flannelette in the Bill. They further suggest that the most satisfactory solution of the question lies in the more effective administration of the law relating to fireguards, and in *making parents criminally responsible for their negligence*. (The italics are ours.) The *Child's Guardian* adds the significant piece of information—"In the amended Bill the word flannelette is deleted."

The same paper points out that it would be perfectly possible to effect the desired end without imputing criminality to the poor "for suffering the effects of their own ignorance," and adds very wisely that the manufacturers' proposal "is only another instance of the way effects are dealt with instead of causes," and that even if the proposed Bill did interfere with trade, which it does not, "some consideration should be given to human life, especially when the majority of those who demand consideration are children."

Which Parent is responsible?

With all of this we are heartily in agreement, and we do not see how the right kind of legislation is to be promoted, or parents saved from penalisation at the expense of manufacturers, until it is recognised that it is actually, as well as sentimentally, a mother's business to mind her baby, and that she cannot do so effectually by staying in the home, while members of Parliament, whom she pays but does not choose for the purpose, are making laws abouts its garments and its fireguards in the House of Commons. We feel the more strongly on this point since we know that the "responsibility of the parent" means responsibility of the mother only, or at all events chiefly, when the parent is penalised, although in all other matters she is not considered the parent at all. We gave an instance of this in Votes for Women (June 21, 1912) quoting a case from the *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* in which a man and woman were summoned under the Children's Act for failing to provide a fireguard, in consequence of which a young child was burnt to death. They pleaded poverty. *The case against the man was dismissed, and the wife was fined 5s. including costs.*

Is it any wonder that a militant spirit has been awakened in women?

ANOTHER CASE OF INJUSTICE

Another instance of injustice is to be found in a vaccination case reported in the *Daily News* on May 19, in which Benjamin J. Reed, a labourer of Stansted, was summoned before the Stansted (Essex) magistrates for neglecting to have a child vaccinated. The report says:—

"Mrs. Reed, wife of the defendant, said she filled up an exemption form, which was signed by a magistrate. The vaccination officer, however, refused to accept it, saying that it must be signed by her husband. Her husband could not write.

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Not a New Experiment

Remember you people of the East, we are not asking you to try an experiment that is new. The Pacific coast States and the Rocky Mountain States have tried it, and it works well. It will not cure all our evils, but I give it as my deliberate and careful judgment that in every State where suffrage has been tried there has been, as far as I know, no single instance where it has produced damage. And there has been case after case where it has worked for the betterment of social and civic conditions.

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Every argument to-day used against votes for women could be paralleled with an argument used a hundred years ago against the extension of suffrage to men who did not belong to the privileged classes. It was said that such a man would neglect his business and his home. Any man who thinks the ballot makes him neglect his business or his home is entitled to use that argument to his wife, but no other. It used to be said that it would cost the average man too much time. But the whole tendency of democracy has been to make it easier for the average citizen to do his political duty without taking too much of his time. . . . The same applies to women. Our democracy is based on the theory that the average man shall be the controlling factor in the government. It is the negation of the old doctrine that a special leisured class should attend to the business of government for all. Our whole effort is to shape the government so as to meet the needs of the average man. All we propose to do now is to put his partner alongside of him. It is not half so revolutionary a proposal as manhood suffrage was a hundred years ago. There is no logic against woman suffrage, but it is perfectly easy for many first-class citizens to be frightened at new ideas. I know that perfectly well. But they will get over their fright. . . .

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"It is the right of woman to have the ballot, it is the duty of men to give it, and we need it as we try to solve the many and terrible problems set before us. In their solution we need to use the full and not the cramped strength of every man and woman of the entire commonwealth."

WOMEN'S LIVES AND WOMEN'S VOTES

The Want of the Vote—The Vote in Working—Roosevelt's Advocacy

CHILD LIFE AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE

Speaking at the Leeds Conference of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Dr. Eustace Hill made the following statement (as reported in this month's *Child's Guardian*):—

"Now let me ask a question. How is legislation influenced? The whole history of the Society's work shows that it is by organised education of public opinion. And while on the subject of public opinion, let us not forget that an educated public opinion would make impossible such sentences as that of four months' hard labour, passed at the November Sessions of the Central Criminal Court, on a man for encouraging the seduction of his daughter, aged fifteen. The maximum penalty under the Children's Act for this offence is two years' hard labour. The details of the case are too horrible for description. The same remarks apply to another case, tried at the December Sessions at the same Court, when a man found guilty of attempting carnal knowledge of his wife's sister, a girl aged fifteen or sixteen, was bound over in his own recognisances in five pounds to come up for judgment if called upon."

Who are the "Public"?

The leniency of these sentences will not surprise anyone who has ever taken the trouble to follow the proceedings of our criminal courts, and we do not quarrel with Dr. Hill's assertion that an educated public opinion would make such sentences impossible. But what he says is at best only a half-truth, for such an educated and organised public opinion will not exist until women form part of the public, which at present they do not. When mothers have the same legal rights as fathers over their own children, and when women have the same direct influence over legislation as men, public opinion will stand some chance of being roused over the administration of the laws concerning the protection of children and girls, and will see to it that criminals are punished more severely for crimes against persons than for those against property.

MINDING THE BABY

The May issue of the *Child's Guardian* also contains an interesting record of what happened recently in reference to the Fabrics (Misdescription) Bill which has been introduced into Parliament, and is a Bill to prohibit the sale of any textile fabric that does not conform to the standard of non-inflammability required by the Home Office. In the Bill as originally drafted flannelette was specifically mentioned as an article of danger, and this fact produced a circular addressed to Members of Parliament, signed by 127 manufacturers, protesting against the express mention of flannelette in the Bill. They further suggest that the most satisfactory solution of the question lies in the more effective administration of the law relating to fireguards, and in *making parents criminally responsible for their negligence*. (The italics are ours.) The *Child's Guardian* adds the significant piece of information—"In the amended Bill the word flannelette is deleted."

The same paper points out that it would be perfectly possible to effect the desired end without imputing criminality to the poor "for suffering the effects of their own ignorance," and adds very wisely that the manufacturers' proposal "is only another instance of the way effects are dealt with instead of causes," and that even if the proposed Bill did interfere with trade, which it does not, "some consideration should be given to human life, especially when the majority of those who demand consideration are children."

Which Parent is responsible?

With all of this we are heartily in agreement, and we do not see how the right kind of legislation is to be promoted, or parents saved from penalisation at the expense of manufacturers, until it is recognised that it is actually, as well as sentimentally, a mother's business to mind her baby, and that she cannot do so effectually by staying in the home, while members of Parliament, whom she pays but does not choose for the purpose, are making laws abouts its garments and its fireguards in the House of Commons. We feel the more strongly on this point since we know that the "responsibility of the parent" means responsibility of the mother only, or at all events chiefly, when the parent is penalised, although in all other matters she is not considered the parent at all. We gave an instance of this in VOTES FOR WOMEN (June 21, 1912) quoting a case from the *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* in which a man and woman were summoned under the Children's Act for failing to provide a fireguard, in consequence of which a young child was burnt to death. They pleaded poverty. *The case against the man was dismissed, and the wife was fined 5s. including costs.*

Is it any wonder that a militant spirit has been awakened in women?

ANOTHER CASE OF INJUSTICE

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"ONE LAW FOR MEN..."

SIR EDWARD CARSON AT BELFAST

We make no apology for printing below extracts from Sir Edward Carson's address to the Willowfield Unionist Club at Belfast, because it contains so many resemblances to speeches by revolutionary Suffragists as to be remarkable. The question we desire to be answered by the Government is this: On what ground other than cowardice do they claim to allow Sir Edward Carson and his supporters in Ireland and his advocates in the Unionist Press to go scot-free while they put in motion the full rigour of the law against women?

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH

"We Will Defend Ourselves"

"I believe that in this hall the people of this district—than whom there are no more loyal people in the whole Empire—will find an abiding place in which they will increase that comradeship which is born of a common danger and which leads men as they meet with one another to grasp the hand in silence and to show a determination that, come what will, they each will be with the other and they all will be one in the same common cause of the defence of their rights and of their liberties. Here you can take all steps that are necessary to train yourselves as loyal subjects of the King, devoted to the King, and devoted to the existing Constitution, and if it becomes necessary—which God forbid—and any man should dare to tamper with that Constitution, well then you have room here to band yourselves together and to show that wherever else apathy, carelessness, disregard of the Constitution under which we live—wherever else that may exist, we will not have it here, and we will defend ourselves with that might and with that right that our Creator has implanted in us."

"Our Quarrel is with the Government"

"Our quarrel is not with individuals. It is a far greater and a far nobler quarrel. Our quarrel is with the Government. . . . Why are we drilling?—Now, I want to state this very explicity. We have not sought a quarrel with anybody; we have not asked for anything; we have made no selfish demand. . . . If, therefore, we are driven to a policy of resistance—God knows we are not asking for it—those who drive us to it must take upon themselves the responsibility which is involved. We seek nothing but the elementary right that is implanted in every man, the right that if you are attacked your manliness should assert itself and you should seek your self-defence. . . . When we lay our plans for the future always remember this about force—it is only to be used in the last resort and not for the purpose of obtaining any selfish benefit or any ascendency or for the purpose of aggression."

"Elementary Rights of Citizenship"

"But we will use it, if we are driven to use it, to beat back those who would dare to barter away those elementary rights of citizenship which we have inherited and which it is our duty and our trust to hand on unimpaired to our children. I do not think I could put our moral right better than it was put by President Lincoln. In his first inaugural address when he was elected to the Presidency of the United States, he said: 'If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right it might in a moral point of view justify revolution. It certainly would have such right were the question a vital one.' Our right to remain as citizens of the Imperial Parliament and under their control is a written right; it is a right that is a vital one, and, in the words of President Lincoln, 'it justifies and gives us a moral right' to do everything that is necessary even to the use of force. . . . Since the day the Covenant was signed we have never stopped day or night making such possible preparations as will enable us firmly, determinedly, and with success to carry out the Covenant into which we have entered. But while all that points to the drill-hall and to force, let me say this—and I am sure you will agree with me—that your representatives in Parliament, and myself as chairman of that party, are bound to exhaust and will have exhausted every constitutional means in our power to avert so great a disaster as the resort to force."

Are There Irish Bodkins?

"I must say I have followed with disgust—the disgust of a man who has studied law for some thirty-five years and had some success at all events in the profession I have followed—the straining of the law in Belfast in reference to those men who were tried, I think, at the last Assizes. New precedents were created, the rulings of Judges were set at nought, Crown Prosecutors became gaolers, and my profession was degraded, and, in the end, they made a futile attempt to bully the juries of Belfast."

Acceptance of Full Responsibility

"I have seen, in what are called the usual sources of information, that circulars have been issued to the police lately. They want to find out what we are doing. They want to see if it is really true that there is any drilling going on in Ulster. They know it all perfectly well. . . . I am sure I do not know what their object is. It may be that they are going to test the legality of our position. There is not a man here who cares a farthing whether they do or not. If they want to test the legality of anything we are doing, let them not attack humble men. I am responsible for everything."

Statutory Illegality—Moral Righteousness

"Well, in conclusion, I have only this to say to you: Go on; be ready; you are our great army; it is on you we rely. Under what circumstances you will have to come into action you must leave with us. These are matters which give us grave consideration, but which we cannot and ought not to talk about in public. You must trust us that we will select the most opportune methods of, if necessary, taking over ourselves the whole government of this community in which we live. I know a great deal of that will involve statutory illegality, but it will also involve moral righteousness. In the circumstances, I say to you, Go on without fear or trembling. Let us do what we believe to be right and leave the consequences to a higher power. And in declaring this hall open I am glad to think that the loyal men of this district will be able to gather here solemnly and seriously to consider not what are the consequences of their action, but what is the righteousness of what they are doing."

IN THE PRESS

"In the Morning Post"

Before long the Government will have to make a momentous choice. They will have to decide whether they will face the calamity of civil war in Ireland or break their bargain with the Nationalist party. . . . Sir Edward Carson has made it plain once for all that those for whom he speaks will not hear of compromise. It is a waste of time to abuse them for their lawless attitude. They have spared no effort of constitutional action to secure a hearing for their claims. They have no desire to take hasty and extreme action. But in case of necessity they will not shrink from courses involving statutory illegality, knowing that they will be justified by the supreme law of self-preservation. It is the intense conviction of the righteousness of their cause that constitutes the strength of the Ulstermen. They may be called bigots and fanatics, terms which could equally be applied to the Covenanters of old, but to overcome the resistance of bigots and fanatics is never a light matter.

In the "Pall Mall Gazette"

History is not made by Acts of Parliament or by the tramping of division lobbies, but by the strength of purpose that is in the hearts of men. Ulster cares sufficiently for her rights to protect them to the last extremity of warfare. . . . Ulster is entitled to determine her own future and to repel, by arms if need be, those who may seek to establish an ascendancy over her. No claim can be more overwhelmingly justified upon every basis of political morality, upon every tradition of freedom that has ever linked itself with the British name.

In the "Daily Graphic"

Rather than submit to a Home Rule Parliament they will fight. That this determination involves a grave responsibility everybody admits; its justification lies in the well-recognised principle that men are morally entitled to resist by force of arms a compulsory change of allegiance.

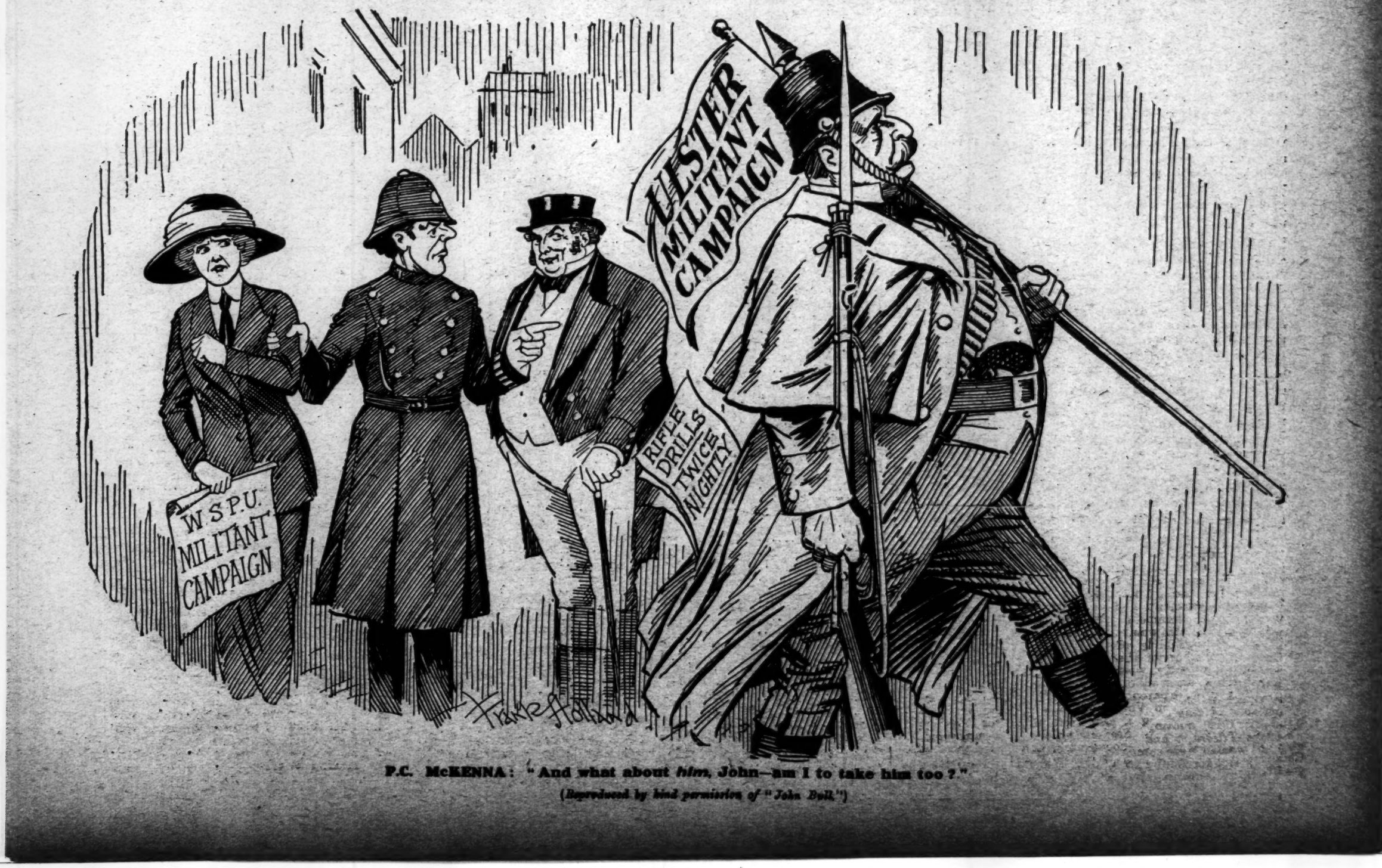
In the "Daily Mail"

Is a British Government, which professes an ardent desire for peace in Europe, to kindle war in Ireland by using violence against the most loyal and faithful of her people?

In the Manchester Guardian

The "Ulsterette" is the "Suffragette," only happening to ask at the time for something else; the underlying spirit of contempt for the general will and the general peace is the same. And to rebuke that spirit is now the business of Liberal and Conservative alike, of the man who values law and order because they are the guards of property and of settled institutions, and also of the man who values them because their maintenance is an indispensable condition of the preservation of popular freedom.

A NATURAL QUESTION



P.C. McKENNA: "And what about *him*, John—am I to take him too?"

(Reproduced by kind permission of "John Bull.")

THE SCANDAL OF THE PRISON VAN

By C. Nina Boyle

Suffrage prisoners have long been familiar with the vile conditions incident upon being conveyed to His Majesty's places of detention. The time is overripe for such scandals to come to an end, and a determined effort is now being made to bring this about.

On receiving a sentence which amounted to fourteen days' imprisonment, I and my colleague, Miss Anna Munro, were recently conveyed in one of these vans from Marylebone Police Court to Holloway. The gaoler in charge considerately placed us together in one of the larger compartments at the further end of the vehicle. At another police court a further load of prisoners was collected, the compartment immediately opposite us being filled with men. On the van starting once more on its journey, these men, and another in the compartment next to us, began to signal to us and to make obscene and suggestive gestures, from the sight of which it was impossible to escape. I am glad to say that two quite young girls, convicted for petty offences, were out of sight of all this, sitting near the gaoler and under his immediate supervision.

On reaching Holloway, we found there Miss Short, whose experience was more horrible still, and whose tale had met with scant courtesy and attention. She had been placed in one of the larger compartments of the van with a French streetwalker and a drunkard; and the van was so crowded that men were standing all down the alley-way on to which the compartments opened. This enabled the woman to catch hold of the man standing near, and indescribable indecencies ensued.

Miss Munro referred the matter to the Governor of Holloway, who declined to take any action, saying it did not concern him or the Visiting Committee, and referring her to the Commissioner of Police. She nevertheless laid it before the Visiting Committee, in spite of the evident annoyance of the chairman and another member, who appeared to think that such episodes were no more than we deserved. I pointed out to the Committee that, having as magistrates committed hundreds of people to these indignities, they now had an opportunity to make some atonement. Our thanks are due to two members of the Committee, who showed their interest very readily, and helped us with questions to put our case. From saying it was not their business to promising that it should be enquired into was something of a change; but when, two days later, we encountered, in the guise of a Visiting Magistrate, the gentleman who thought it served us right, we were highly amused to find him reproaching us for not having put such a matter to the Visiting Committee "long ago"!

The morning after our discharge we waited on Mr. Paul Taylor (who sentenced us) and laid the matter before him. This gentleman gave us a patient hearing, but could not divest himself of the idea that we were asking a personal favour, which he was not disposed to grant by reason of the attitude we had assumed when on our trial! He refused to take any action or to make any recommendation whatever, and said it was a matter for the Home Office.

In the case of Miss Short, questions were asked in the House by Mr. Jowett, M.P., and the reply of Mr. McKenna was to the effect that the "prison vans were never overcrowded. Prisoners for whom there was no room were conveyed to prison in cabs. Female prisoners were conveyed in closed compartments entirely separate from males. The sexes were kept entirely separate." The falsehood conveyed by this species of juggling with words and phrases need not be commented on. We pointed out to Mr. Taylor that, between one set of officials who disclaim all responsibility and another to whose lips the ready official lie leaps spontaneously whenever a question is raised, no one need be surprised at the strength and intensity which has developed in the women's movement.

The Commissioner of Police has now been approached, and the members of the Women's Freedom League who have lately undergone imprisonment are waiting on him to ask the meaning of the information supplied to Mr. McKenna, who had referred to Sir Edward Henry as his authority in denying the truth of Miss Short's statements.

OPEN LETTER TO "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWS

Dear Fellows,—You will be interested to hear that we intend as a Fellowship to take our stand amongst those who are contending for the right of public meeting in Hyde Park. I am applying for a platform on Sunday afternoon, June 8, and am confident of a splendid rally of all the Fellows round our banner.

Fellows, we are working you very hard just now. Well, we, the editors, are working very hard too—very, very hard. What with the bankruptcy proceedings, the impending civil actions for damages which we are defending ourselves, the necessity of keeping the Votes for Women flag flying high, and the rapid growth of the Fellowship entailing rapid organisation and development, we should be at our wits end but for you and your generous effective support.

This week's issue of the paper must be circulated broadcast. You can see for yourselves how important it is. Go on helping us to get our protest against the encroachment of the Executive understood by great numbers of people. It is essential in the public interest.

Since our Christening Party we have almost doubled our membership. In view of the immense vitality and energy now manifesting itself in the Fellowship, it is absolutely essential that we have another Reunion to report results and sketch out new developments before the summer holidays, so that we may have everything in readiness for a great campaign of propaganda in the autumn. This Reunion will take the form of a meeting in the Portman Rooms on Friday evening, July 4. Please book the date at once and do your utmost to be present that we may feel again the inspiration and strength of our corporate union, review the practical results of our corporate work and be possessed anew with the determination to exceed in the future every achievement that has been already accomplished.

Now just one word more of advice as to another way of helping our paper, and a story to illustrate it, for the truth of which I can vouch.

One day last week a Fellow saw a seductive costume in the window of a West London shop. It was not only pretty, but very reasonable in cost. She walked into the shop, interviewed the manager, told him she wished to purchase—but he did not advertise in Votes for Women. The manager told her he had met a similar case the day before, and asked her to direct the advertisement manager of the paper to call upon him *without delay*. Moral: It shows what the individual can do. Don't forget the business side of the paper, especially just now. Deal with advertisers and tell them you do it.

I told you in a letter written to each of you personally a few days ago that I wanted £100 to send "Why I am Made a Bankrupt" to every solicitor and barrister in the country. I have received £30 already towards that sum. This week I want to send the paper specially marked to every Trade Union branch in the country. We must get home this point about our protest. You will say I am always wanting more and more. Of course. What else can you expect in this Movement?—Yours in much haste and warm fellowship,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

Paper Selling Report

Last week's sale was satisfactory, thanks to the response of sellers. Fourteen new volunteers have come forward, a member of the Men's League among them. But, considering the number of meetings, &c., many more are urgently wanted. Who will come forward for meetings, theatre-queues, and pitches?

Volunteers are wanted for Sunday afternoon (25th inst.) to sell at the East London Women's Demonstration in Victoria Park. Will all willing to help write to the Organiser or call at the office?

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To May 19, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	304	16	9
Miss N. Hookey	0	5	0
Miss E. Robins	2	2	0
Miss S. C. Wilson	0	1	0
Miss M. Douglas	0	1	0
"Guppy"	0	2	0
Mrs. Layton	0	1	6
The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	1	2	6
Miss Florence Wright	2	2	0
Miss L. C. Lowe	0	10	0
Miss F. Collier	0	10	0
Mrs. Franklin Smith	1	1	0
Miss L. A. Carruthers	0	5	0
Miss L. James	0	4	0
Mrs. Dodgson	5	0	0
Mrs. Binnie	0	2	6
Miss E. B. Lewis	0	2	6
Mrs. Ireland	0	4	0
Miss G. Bynner	0	1	0
Miss R. F. Harris	0	10	0
Miss M. I. Rorison	0	6	0
Miss M. Postlewaite	0	5	0
Miss V. Crocker	0	10	0
Mrs. Ferguson	1	0	0
Miss E. Barnes	5	0	0
Miss E. Fallon	0	2	6
Mrs. Green	0	5	0
The Rev. Green	0	5	0
"A. F."	5	0	0
Mrs. Waddington	0	1	0
Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck	2	0	0
Mrs. Benbow	0	10	0
Miss Fagg, extra on Votes	0	0	6
Ernest Brown, Esq.	2	2	0
Mrs. McLeod	0	10	0
Mrs. Jensen	0	5	0
Miss A. Somers	0	5	0
Dr. H. Gordon Clark	0	12	6
Mrs. Pott	1	1	0
Miss H. Turnbull	0	3	0
M. Ghenry, Esq.	0	2	6
Mrs. Gais	0	5	0
Miss Thompson, extra on Votes	0	0	6
Miss M. Dawes Thompson	0	2	6
Miss E. Christine Pugh	0	10	6
Mrs. Cather	0	10	0
Mrs. St. J. Hall	0	2	6
Mrs. Ivory	20	0	0
Miss E. Curwen	0	2	0
Miss M. Barber extra on Votes	0	1	7
"C. J. F."	0	10	0
Dr. Caroline Sturge	3	0	0
Mrs. Alice Kidd	0	2	6
Miss S. E. Hall	0	5	0
Mrs. Allen	0	2	0
Mrs. Saul Solomon	1	5	0
Miss Elizabeth Thompson	1	13	9
Total	368	2	1

The two items appearing in previous list: Miss H Thompson, 6s. 6d.; Miss Rachel Thompson, 6s. 6d., being subscriptions to the paper, have been deducted from the total of last week.

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In good quality satin, lined throughout silk . **4½ guineas**

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Silk Bedroom Wraps . from **23/6**

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Bedroom Wraps of Shantung Silk, in Oriental shadings . . . **47/6**

THE publishers inform us that their readers readily respond to advertisements in these columns—therefore we shall appreciate it if when you are buying here you will intimate to the salesperson that you saw the article mentioned in "Votes for Women."

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By appointment to H.M. The King, H.M. The Queen H.M. Queen Alexandra and H.M. The Queen of Norway.

BOOKS FOR MOTHERS

Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser has written a very useful book called "Perfect Health,"* in which she deals clearly and sensibly with such subjects as "Common Ailments," "Nursing Children," and "The Health of the School-Child." There are always many books of this sort on the market—and indeed it is well no home should be without one—and we have found no special new points in Dr. Chesser's book, though it is very good all round. Messrs. Jack send us "Marriage and Motherhood" and "The Baby"† in their *People's Books*, and all we can say is that they are truly wonderful "six-pennorths."

There are two classes of books for mothers: those that can be left on the bookshelf for anyone to refer to in moments of emergency, and those that the mother keeps carefully locked up in her own drawer.

To the first class belong the books named above; to the second class belong Dr. Alice Stockham's "Tokology"‡ (already a classic in the United States), and her later little book called "Karezza." These are so literal and outspoken that they are not even to be recommended to the young wife; but where marriage is proving a failure they may bring practical help towards a better state of things.

Sex and Sanctity

An entirely different style of book is Mrs. Re-Bartlett's "Sex and Sanctity,"§ a sequel to her former work, "The Coming Order." Here it is not only the physical or social, but the spiritual point of view that is dealt with, and yet there is no degeneration into mere sentiment. The chapters on "Militancy" and "Forces Behind the Vote" should be read by every feminist, and might aid many a Suffragette to a clearer understanding of her own position and principles. To quote a few lines only:—

> The enormous power of these women militants to suffer and to sacrifice themselves for an impersonal cause, is the one thing which thoughtful people at this moment should be finding worthy of consideration. What is not generally understood in regard to women's militancy to-day, is that whatever immature expression it may sometimes take, it is yet a spiritual uprising, and for that reason cannot be suppressed. It marks all over the world the awakening of a new soul in woman, and could it be suppressed to-day, it would but rise stronger to-morrow, for it forms part of a new social conscience which all the progress of the times is serving to augment.

Mrs. Re-Bartlett goes on to show that it is not only wider knowledge and power that inspire the movement, but wider love of women for women, leading to a solidarity of sex such as the world has not before witnessed. In the chapter on "Parentage" the place of the child in the new order of things is discussed, and the keynote is love, and integrity of spirit the closing chord.

The second part of the book consists of three essays, one of which is reprinted from the *Vita Femminile Italiana*, and another from the *Hibbert Journal*. They deal entirely with the spiritual side of the subject, and are stimulating and of interest to the general reader—whether mother or not—whether Suffragette or not.

A Handbook for Mothers

Miss Buckton's little book‖ is meant for the use of parents and teachers, as a help to them as much as to the children. It is not intended to be put into the hands of young children at all, but as a framework to assist mothers and teachers to answer the questions of children in a consistent and helpful way. Anyone who reads the catechism, after studying the introduction, will see that it is likely to be very useful. It is especially to be commended when it comes to explaining the main facts of life to young people. Whatever differences of opinion there may be on certain points, there is nothing but good to be said of such a book as this. It is reverent, sane, and full of suggestion. Every mother would be glad to have read it.

HEALTH FOR MEN

We live in an age extremely interested in matters of health and hygiene, and much popular literature is devoted to the subject. "The Care of the Body," by R. S. Woodworth, Professor in Columbia University (The Macmillan Co., New York, price 6s. 6d. net), is one of many. It contains physiological descriptions in popular language and hints on the preservation of health which may all be summed up as common-sense counsels of "moderation in all things," while the book may be read with advantage by the "young man" for whom it is especially intended, although most of its chapters seem applicable to both sexes. The author's point of view as regards heredity, however, strikes us as somewhat lop-sided. The young man "should *beware* of selecting a mate from any family tainted with insanity or other serious weakness"; but "should his own family be so affected, he *should have very good advice* before venturing into matrimony." The italics are ours. Why this distinction?

BOOKS RECEIVED

"August Strindberg." The Spirit of Revolt. Studies and Impressions. By L. Lind-af-Hageby. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s. net.)

"The Petticoat Commando." Boer Women in Secret Service. By Johanna Brandt. (London: Mills and Boon. Price 6s.)

"The Married Woman." A Play in Three Parts. By C. B Fernald. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 3s 6d. net.

"Frances Mary Buss." A Cameo Life-Sketch. By Marion Holmes. (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 3d. net.)

* "Perfect Health for Women and Children." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, M.B. (Methuen. 3s. 6d.)

† "The Baby" and "Marriage and Motherhood." (Jack. 6d. each.)

‡ "Tokology" (8s. 6d.) and "Karezza" (5s.). By Alice B. Stockham, M.D. (L. N. Fowler and Co.)

§ "Sex and Sanctity." By Lucy Re-Bartlett. (Longmans. 2s. 6d.)

‖ "A Catechism of Life." By Alice Mary Buckton. (London: Methuen. Price 1s net.)

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Tickets 2/6, 1/-, and 6d., from WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE OFFICES, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

A SWEATED WORKERS' EXHIBITION
Will be held under the auspices of the Women Writers' Suffrage League and the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, on
WEDNESDAY, MAY 28th, at 3 to 6.30 p.m., at
KNIGHTSBRIDGE PALACE HOTEL (Tube Station: Knightsbridge).
Chairman: Mrs. FLORA ANNIE STEEL.
Speakers: The Rt. Hon the EARL OF LYTTON, Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK, A. G. GARDINER, Esq., Mrs. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, J. MALCOLM MITCHELL, Esq., Mrs. PEMBER REEVES.
There will be: SWEATED EXHIBITS and SWEATED WOMEN WORKERS, Demonstrating the Making of Shirts, Match-boxes, Children's Hob-nail Boots, Brushes, Rag Dolls, etc.
Tickets of Admission, 1s., may be obtained from the WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, 13, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C., and the MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

GOOD BOOKS on
Delicate Subjects :: ::
By Women.
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WHAT ONE MIGHT SAY TO A SCHOOLBOY. By MARY EVEREST BOOLE. 6d. net (postage 1d.).
Merges the sex question in the *inclusive* question of the duty of boys to prepare themselves for using all their faculties for the service of humanity. An original and most admirable book.
HOW WE ARE BORN. By MRS. N. J. 2s. net (postage 2d.).
A Letter to Parents for their Children, setting forth in simple language the truth about the facts of sex.
WOMAN AND NATURAL LAW. By FRANCES SWINEY. 6d. net (postage 1d.).
A survey of the latest conclusions of science regarding the supreme importance of the female organism in evolution.
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MISS ABADAM on "White Slaves—Supply and Demand."
Chair .. .. MISS LENA ASHWELL
Tickets 1/- & 6d. from the Offices of the A.F.L., 2, Robert St., Adelphi, W.C.

QUEEN'S HALL, LANGHAM PLACE, W.
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TWO LECTURES
By MRS. ANNIE BESANT
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Subject: SUPER-HUMAN MEN IN HISTORY AND IN RELIGION.
On SUNDAY EVENINGS, at 7 p.m. promptly.
JUNE 1st.—MANIFESTATION OF SUPER-HUMAN BEINGS IN OUR WORLD.
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VOTES FOR WOMEN
4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.
Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.
FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1913.

DON'T PLAY THE ENEMY'S GAME

In the teeth of every form of opposition our movement for the extension of constitutional liberty grows in numbers and in strength. To the amazement and the consternation of its opponents the agitation for the vote can neither be entrapped by political chicanery nor side-tracked by betrayal, nor held up by Press boycott nor suppressed by violence, nor terrorised by special penal legislation. So long as all the various battalions of the Suffrage army stand united each in its own place, holding its own position in the field, yet presenting a continuous front line to the enemy, its forces cannot be beaten.

Baffled at every point in the direct attack, those who passionately desire the downfall of all that this Movement stands for, are seeking more secret and insidious methods to secure their end. A deliberate attempt has been set on foot for breaking up the fine solidarity of the Woman's Movement. We do not believe for one moment that it will succeed, but it is as well to announce that the ruse is understood. It is necessary to expose the plot.

Just as the hostile Press, working in collusion with the political authorities and with the agents of the police, deliberately and cunningly hypnotised a certain section of the foolish crowd, and made of it a tool for the accomplishment of their malign political purpose, so with precisely the same intent, influences are being set in motion in a very secret, subtle, and crafty way to hypnotise conscientious and well-meaning Suffragists, and to use them as tools to precisely the same end, by driving them on to "condemn" militancy.

The foolish crowds who practise Suffragist baiting in Hyde Park and elsewhere have been mesmerised into the belief that they are demonstrating righteous indignation in the interests of property, when they are, in reality, being cleverly used as pawns in the Government's game of suppressing the right of free speech. Suffragists who "repudiate" or who "condemn" their allies in the fierce and prolonged struggle for emancipation, instead of directing their attack entirely upon the common foe, quite unwittingly and with the best intentions in the world, have been mesmerised into the belief that they are fulfilling a high moral duty, when in reality they are being made the tools of a very malignant set of forces and are playing into the enemy's hand.

We do not intend to suggest for one moment that Suffragists should not hold definite opinions as to the best way of winning the vote, or that they should not yield strict obedience to moral conviction if it bids them to eschew in all circumstances that life may offer, recourse to acts of physical violence. That is a matter to be settled by the individual reason and conscience which governs personal action.

But let it be clearly understood that no one has the smallest right to demand or to expect from the most peaceful or law-abiding Suffragist any further expression of criticism other than that which is implied in the fact that she is not associated by membership with a militant society.

Every upstanding woman who respects her mentality is not only bound to close her mind to the hypnotic suggestion that a declaration of condemnation is required of her, but she has every right to resent deeply the gross impertinence of such a demand.

The fact is that the forces that are bent upon holding women in subjection are once again endeavouring to exploit the double standard of conduct as applied to men and women. There are hundreds of thousands of law-abiding and constitutional Unionists who are repelled by the idea of revolution in Ulster. Yet nobody in their political senses would dream of calling for a public condemnation and repudiation on their part of Sir Edward Carson and his section, with the hope of creating a stampede of moderate Unionists from the Conservative Party.

So farfetched and preposterous is this demand that it would be utterly powerless to endanger our Movement, were it not for the fact that women have been forced for so long to absorb the opinions of others instead of relying upon their own judgment. We must sternly refuse to allow our reason to be befogged or our wills to be mesmerised by the malign influences of those whose one idea is to create confusion and disorder in our solid ranks.

Let there be no mistake. The law-abiding Suffragist who quits her place in the field, where she is fighting with the "constitutional" equipment of her own battalion, to occupy a seat upon the judgment throne or even a place in the box with the jury, in order to pronounce a verdict upon the action of an ally in the field, has mistaken her vocation and forgotten her duty. She becomes thereby a source of strength to the enemy and of weakness to her own side.

Consider how different, according to divergency of temperament, would be the method of individuals faced with the need for action in any ordinary circumstance of life Suppose, for instance, that a number of individuals were confronted with the spectacle of a man grossly and cruelly ill-treating a woman in the street. The action of one would be to deal the bully a direct blow, of another to appeal to him to desist, of another to go in search of a policeman, of another to rouse the neighbours, of another to fetch medical help for the injured woman. That is to say, some would be urged to militant action, others to moral suasion, others to the appeal to law and order, others to seek the aid of public opinion. For each course something could be said.

If so many divergencies of action are imaginable in one simple situation of human affairs, how inevitable it is that in a world-wide movement, such as the Woman's Movement is to-day, there should be a diversity of methods to suit different minds and various temperaments.

In view of the present crisis of our Movement, let us realise more deeply than ever our essential solidarity. Let us divest ourselves of intolerance, let us turn a deaf ear to the traitors of our sex who urge us to betray or to attack one another. Let us close our reason to the obsession of the double moral standard in life, in warfare, and in politics. Then, true to our own conscience and loyal to our comrades, we shall resist the wiles and the machinations of those who would bring us and our cause to nought, and our great Suffrage Army, highly organised and complex in its departments, will stand united and victorious, one in devotion to that proud flag which has never seen an ultimate defeat.

CAN WOMEN BE SOLICITORS?

"Should women be lawyers?" This is a question to which here in England an answer will shortly be demanded, and the flat denial of past ages cannot, and will not, any longer be accepted as axiomatic, but will be followed firmly by the natural corollary, "If not, why not?" Lord Wolmer's Bill to enable women to become barristers, solicitors and Parliamentary agents is before Parliament for the second successive year, and either this week or next a case will come before the Courts to decide the claim of a woman to be admitted to the Preliminary Examination of the Incorporated Law Society, the first step towards being enrolled as a solicitor. These are symptoms of the growing demand among women for admission to the legal profession and their increasingly persistent refusal to be debarred from this outlet for their energies and abilities (to put the claim at its lowest) without real and just cause.

Opposition in the Profession

There is no doubt that in the legal profession itself there is very great opposition to the admission of women. A large majority of barristers are against any such proposal, though the voting at the February meeting of the Bar Council showed that there was a by no means negligible minority in favour of it; and though the opposition among solicitors is probably relatively less, yet there, too, it would be a minority only who would welcome the addition of women to their ranks. This opposition is, of course, partly due to the natural fear of competition in an already overcrowded profession, and is, therefore, stronger among younger lawyers who have yet to establish their position. But it is easy to overrate the part played by selfishness, conscious selfishness at least, among the forces antagonistic to the admission of women; and it is easy, too, to class as selfish hypocrites those who might be favourable to admitting women, but to whom the mere idea of a woman (one of their own class, that is) knowing and dealing with the darkest and dirtiest side of life is almost impossible. A barrister once said to me, "That a woman should be brought into contact with the unbelievable horribleness and brutality met with in the practice of criminal and some other branches of law is, to me, quite unthinkable"; and he was stating an objection deeply and truly felt by many, and an objection which, because it has its roots in a deep-seated instinct, will probably prove one of the hardest to overcome.

Grounds of Opposition

But the most general ground of opposition is that dogmatically stated by the *Law Journal* recently: "It is perfectly clear that the admission of women either as barristers or solicitors would not be for the good of the community, and would introduce into the active practice of the law difficulties which cannot be underestimated." If that objection be split up, what seems to be feared is this:—

(1) Physical disability, which would seriously interfere with the due discharge of the duties undertaken by a lawyer.

(2) Defects of mind and temperament, which would lower the standard of professional conduct.

(3) Grave interference with the course of justice owing to sex-influence.

The first two of these are old friends, and it is hardly necessary to discuss them here; if women have the physique, the brains and the temperament to be (for example) doctors, then until experience has proved the contrary it is to be presumed that they have the physique, the brains and the temperament to be lawyers. As to the third, there is more to be said. It is possible that at first an opposing counsel might refrain out of mistaken politeness to press a woman opponent as he would a man, and that a jury would be unduly influenced by the eloquence of a woman advocate; but the experience of women in other professions hardly leads one to expect such preferential treatment. In any case, whatever happens at the beginning, later, when things have settled down, when women lawyers have come to be taken for granted, such feeling as there might be at the beginning will disappear and they will be treated as a matter of course.

Women in the Legal Profession in other Countries

The experience of other lands where women are admitted to the practice of the law fully bears this out. In the United States there is no division of the legal profession into two branches, as in England, but the lawyer does the work of both barrister and solicitor. There women may plead before the Supreme Court and all inferior Federal Courts, and also before all the State Courts except those of Arkansas, Georgia and Virginia. In all, there are about 20,000 women lawyers in the United States, and some of them have been highly successful.

In France, women have been admitted as advocates for some time; the admission was only achieved after a struggle, though the opposition met with does not appear to have been nearly so great as it will probably prove in England. It was in 1900 that a woman was first admitted as Avocat de la Cour d'Appel; French women lawyers are now fairly numerous, numbering about a hundred in Paris and the provinces. They appear to have done well, though, with one or two exceptions, not brilliantly; a good many confine their practice to the Children's Courts, where their work is especially valuable.

Women can also be advocates in Denmark, Argentine and Finland. In Switzerland they may plead in three Cantons, but not in the others; in this connection it is interesting to note that their exclusion from the Courts of the rest of Switzerland is due to a somewhat strained interpretation of the letter of the law. By Swiss law an advocate who is admitted to practise before the Courts of one Canton must be admitted to the others, but this was held not to apply to women.

In Russia and Italy women have come very near being admitted, but their admission has not as yet (as is sometimes erroneously stated) actually been achieved. In Russia a Bill to admit women as advocates was passed by the Duma in March, 1912, by a good majority, but it was thrown out by the Council of State in February of this year. In Italy a woman did actually practise for a short time, but the Courts have recently interpreted the silence of the laws on the point as implying that women are excluded from the right of pleading.

In Norway the general progress is so rapid (they have the Vote there, be it remembered!) that it is confidently expected that their admission to the legal profession is not likely to be long delayed.

Great Britain Lags Behind

In the British Empire itself, the Mother Country lags far behind several of her Colonies in this matter. In Australia women may plead before all the Federal Courts, including the Supreme Court. In Tasmania they can be barristers, and in Victoria they are accorded equal treatment with men in all respects. In Queensland the profession is, legally, open to women, but so far no advantage has been taken of it, and there are many technical obstacles in the way, due mainly to the fact that members of the legal profession form a kind of trade union, which refuses to open its membership to women. In New South Wales they cannot be barristers.

In New Zealand women have been free to practise as barristers and solicitors since 1894.

In India a lady, Miss Surabjee, has been permitted to plead on behalf of women who are in purdah and therefore unable to avail themselves of the services of a man, and has supplied, partially at least, a very crying want.

Reasons for Opening the Profession

The experience of all these countries has been the same: they have found no reason to regret the admission of women to the practice of law; none of the difficulties and drawbacks so freely predicted have materialised. But not only is there no valid reason for the continued exclusion of women, but there are very weighty reasons for their admission. It is neither just nor economically sound that they should be denied this outlet for their talents and energies. Why should a woman who is capable of passing all the tests imposed on men be excluded on the ground merely that she is a woman? Where tests are imposed to regulate the admission to a profession, fulfilment of those tests should be regarded as evidence of fitness regardless of sex. More important still—women are needed in law; the need for women lawyers is, of course, not so great as for women doctors, but to a great extent it is based on similar grounds, and there are others in addition. Think of the position of a woman alone in Court except for a woman warder (no great support), faced by a male judge and jury, and compelled to answer to them questions of the most intimate nature; compelled to rely for her defence upon a man, to whom, if he is to conduct her defence with any chance of success, she must give a detailed description of things indescribable. Women see many things differently from men; it is often counsel's business to express his client's point of view, and he cannot do this unless he has fully grasped and felt it. In many cases of separation, divorce, rights over children, as well as other matters, not only would it be far easier and less trying to a woman to explain her case to a woman, but the latter will be more capable of expressing it fully and with understanding. This is particularly true in cases of infanticide.

Further, there can be little doubt as to the value of their work in connection with Children's Courts, and both in France and the United States the work done by women lawyers in this branch has won especially high approval.

Not Without the Vote

Granted by several modern States and in operation in parts of the British Empire itself, this concession can only be a question of time. That it will be granted of freewill to voteless women, in the immediate future at least, is doubtful. Solicitors may find that the claim of women to be examined, articled and placed on the roll is legally undeniable; but women are not likely to gain admission to the Inns of Court and be called to the Bar until they have power to compel it. Once the driving force of the vote is achieved, entrance into both branches of the legal profession is a consequence that will not be long in following.

L. F. N.

THE BRITISH PHARISEE

(These verses were inspired by articles in the daily Press on Portuguese treatment of political prisoners, and by remarks on "Wild Women," and Press incitement to mob law for Suffragettes.)

O, freedom-loving Britons! draw near and hear my tale;
Produce your pocket handkerchiefs; prepare to weep and wail.
For oh! such horrid, horrid deeds are done across the sea,
By Rooshan and by Prooshan, by Turk and Portugee.

Should any righteous rebels within those realms exist,
They're actually arrested and handcuffed on the wrist!
Yes; prisoners political, "Reds" whom we love so well,
Are dragged away to prison and locked up in a cell!

Rouse up, O British Pharisees! Vent your indignant ire;
For these are *foreign* rebels, the kind you most admire.
Come, pour out gifts and offerings to help them in their plight;
They're fighting foreign Governments, and so they must be right.

What! Rebels here in England? How dare you breathe the word?
Our Englishwomen rebels? Ha, ha, you're most absurd!
Why, see how they're "protected," how "favoured," how admired;
They could have a vote to-morrow if it *really* were desired.

"White Slaves" and "Sweated Workers"? Beaten wife and starving child?
Pooh! All exaggeration! Those who talk like this are "wild";
"Wild women"—Suffragettes, sir—shrieking sisters—lunatics!
We take no notice of them; these are merely women's "Tricks."

But if, goaded by our sneering, women dare to go too far,
We lock them up and treat them like the criminals they are.
Then, if by "hunger striking" they for freedom have a try,
We mercifully torture them; we couldn't "let them die."

And if by all these agencies we fail to keep them quiet,
We set our roughs upon them, and bid *them* make a riot.
"Lynch law's" too bad for negroes, whatever wrong they've done;
But it's right for Englishwomen; they know it's just our "fun."

So come, you foreign tyrants, set all your rebels free,
For holy England bids you. We believe in liberty,
But not for Englishwomen; let them slave and sweat and work,
For in his own dominions John Bull is still a Turk.

A. S. B.

THE PROSECUTION OF THE "SUFFRAGETTE" PRINTER

Mr. Edgar Whiteley in Court — Charges of Conspiracy and Incitement — Hearing Adjourned till next Monday

Last Tuesday, in the Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate's Court, the hearing was begun of the charges against Mr. Edgar Whiteley, the manager and secretary of the National Labour Press, Limited, of Manchester, in connection with the printing and publication of the *Suffragette*, the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, on May 9. The accusation against the defendant was that he "conspired on April 29 and divers other dates with Emmeline Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and others unlawfully and wickedly to solicit, instigate, and incite divers women, being members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and others, unlawfully and maliciously to do and commit in and upon the real and personal property of and belonging to liege subjects of His Majesty injury and spoil to the amount of £5 and upyards."

Mr. Gordon Hewart, K.C., who conducted the case for the prosecution, said that the *Suffragette* was started in October last year, and had consistently advocated the policy of the Union, which was said to consist in "the defiance of legal enactments and in attacks upon property," and the only limit that the Union put on militancy was that human life should be respected. Mr. Hewart quoted from speeches and printed matter to show that "the conspiracy" had been in existence for months, and that the defendant effectively entered into it by aiding in the production of the periodical which was its weapon. He contended that within the four corners of the *Suffragette* printed by the defendant there were actual incitements to the crimes included in the Union definition of militancy. Mr. Hewart added that behind the prosecution there was no attempt and no desire to interfere with freedom of speech or the liberty of the Press.

The evidence heard on Tuesday connected the defendant with the printing of the *Suffragette* on May 9, and included police transcripts of speeches made by Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney in London. Sir William Cobbett, for the defence, objected to this evidence on the ground that whatever happened before May 7 was immaterial. There was no evidence, he said, of any concerted action by the defendant and members of the W.S.P.U. before that date. The magistrate overruled the objection.

The hearing had not been concluded when the Court rose. It will be resumed next Monday.

SPEECH FOR THE PROSECUTION

Mr. Gordon Hewart said the defendant was charged with a twofold conspiracy, with conspiring with others to commit, and also with inciting others to commit, damage to property. The persons with whom he was alleged to have conspired were Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Annie Kenney, and other members of the W.S.P.U. Mr. Hewart continued:—

"That organisation has, or claims to have, an interest in the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women, and to that end, or ostensibly to that end, it invites its members and adherents to defy the law and to make and to organise systematic attacks upon property. That invitation appears to be a characteristic policy of the Women's Social and Political Union. It is not, and the leaders of the Union do not for a moment profess that it is, a conciliatory mode of advocacy, but their view, publicly, emphatically, and repeatedly proclaimed, is that constitutional methods of political agitation are idle, or, at any rate, idle for the purposes of women's suffrage, and that nothing short of calculated and systematic crime will prevail.

"Partly Tactics and Partly Temper"

"Nothing, as the prosecution will seek to show, could be more clearly or more frankly avowed than this policy and programme of crime, and it is advocated on two grounds. First, upon the ground that if women are to obtain the Parliamentary franchise they must intimidate the public, and, through the public, the Government, and, secondly, that women must show—I am quoting the official formula—'that they have in them the spirit that cannot and will not submit.' In other words, the programme is partly tactics and partly temper. But whether the motive be tactics or temper, the policy is always the same, viz., the commission and the encouragement of criminal attacks upon property under the name of what is called militancy.

"For the purpose of that criminal propaganda the Women's Social and Political Union has published since October 18, 1912, a weekly paper called the *Suffragette*, and it is described upon its face as the official organ of the Union. Some thirty or more successive weekly issues of that periodical have appeared, and their object and effect, as their contents clearly show, is to advocate the methods and to advertise the instruments or the victims of the peculiar policy of the Union."

The Issue of May 9

Mr. Hewart then referred to the defendant's position as secretary and manager of the National Labour Press, Limited, which printed the issue of the *Suffragette* of May 9, and went on to describe it as an "issue which we shall submit undoubtedly incites to crime, and it is significant—though not perhaps very material—that the defendant, as we know from his own statement, read every line of it. The printing and publication of that issue is one of the overt acts in the conspiracy charged against the defendant." He proceeded to deal with "the nature of the conspiracy and the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union," and for this purpose he read a number of extracts, beginning with a passage from the first number of the paper, signed Christabel Pankhurst—which was also put in later on in the proceedings.

The Annual Report

From the Annual Report of the W.S.P.U. Mr. Hewart read the statement that "militancy also has been extended in scope and increased in vigour, and from being merely symbolic, as in the old days, is now directed against property." Other paragraphs in the Report were also read, as well as many extracts from speeches made by Mrs. Pankhurst and other members of the W.S.P.U. These covered the period between last October and February 20 this year, and all advocated the use of militant tactics.

Reading the message from Mrs. Pankhurst which apeared in the particular issue of the *Suffragette* in respect of which the charges against the defendant were made, Mr. Hewart commented on it as being "a clear invitation to those into whose hands this paper may come that by money and otherwise they should still support this Union, doing what it was doing and what it intended doing in pursuing this policy of crime in the name of militancy."

Other Contents of the Issue

Mr. Hewart proceeded: On page 499 of this issue there is a series of editorial articles under the general heading "Review of the Week." The first one says that "the Women's Social and Political Union is strengthened by persecution," and in the middle of the article are the words: "The effect of the raid and the many arrests that have been effected has been to heighten the enthusiasm and courage of the members of the W.S.P.U." Then there is a reference to what was found on the premises of the W.S.P.U. when the police entered. Among the things they found were hammers and other implements for cutting telegraph wires. The article goes on to say: "As no Suffragette ever does anything of which she is ashamed the police have not found and will not find anything that can cause any member of the Union the slightest perturbation." Then follows a paragraph headed "Business as Usual": "No sooner had the enemy"—that is, the police—"vacated Lincoln's Inn House than the W.S.P.U. resumed possession. The first thing they did was to hoist the flag. Symbolical this of the whole situation. The W.S.P.U. flag is still flying. Members and friends have taken the Government's action as a challenge and have rallied with enthusiasm to the Union's service." Can there be any mistake as to the meaning of those words? The next paragraph is headed "Militancy Continues": "The Government were warned before they took their reckless action that an attack on the W.S.P.U. organisation would not avail to stop militancy." In other words, whatever else might be stopped, this organised attack upon property would continue.

Attacks on Property Advocated

"On the contrary, such an attack would," so the Government were further warned, "be calculated to increase and intensify militancy. This is precisely what has happened, and since the Government's action several serious cases of militancy have occurred. Militancy is primarily an affair of individual conscience, individual spirit, and individual action. Therefore, the Government are simply beating the air and ploughing the sands when they make raids on the W.S.P.U. organisation and organisers. The only way in which it is possible to stop militancy is to give women the vote." Therefore, those responsible for publishing this paper advocate attacks upon property as the only way of getting votes for women, and they assert and ask others to believe that such attacks will continue until the franchise is granted.

Mr. Hewart next quoted from a leading article signed by Miss Pankhurst, concluding with the words: "When women also get the vote they will put aside the old blunderbuss of militancy." In other words, continued Mr. Hewart, "We ask you not to put it aside until women have won the vote." Then follows a most significant matter. Mrs. Pankhurst, on the front page of this issue, invited everybody to be strong and faithful to one another and to the Union, and at page 504 there is, without note or comment or any subtraction or qualification, Mr. Bodkin's statement in the police court in London of what the object of the Union is—a statement taken verbatim from the first issue of the *Suffragette*: "The object of the Union, declared Mr. Bodkin, could not be more accurately described than by a quotation from the first number of the *Suffragette*, in which it was stated that the militant policy consists in defiance of legal enactments and of attacks on property. The only limit the Union puts on militancy is that human life should be respected."

Summing Up

Mr. Hewart then said: It is not necessary to submit in this case that—the objects the Union being what we know them to be and what they have so often, so strongly, and so uncompromisingly been declared to be—it would have been an act of conspiracy merely to print a paper which invited support, whether by money or otherwise, to the policy of that Union. One need not go so far. Within the four corners of this issue, which the defendant undoubtedly printed and published, there are incitements to this particular kind of crime. The ramifications of this conspiracy are many. The mass of evidence is great, but the main facts—the nature, the purpose, and the methods of this conspiracy—are abundantly ample and clear. No doubt the conspiracy has its ludicrous side. The spectacle of a large number of women seeking to win the vote by the zealous use of hammers and hatchets would no doubt, if it appeared in a comedy or a farce, appeal to the sense of humour as it would undoubtedly appeal to the sense of pathos. But on another side this grave and far-reaching conspiracy is certainly no laughing matter. It is an open defiance of the law, an insolent challenge to civilised society, and it has led, and is leading, to outrages and crimes which cannot indefinitely be ignored by those who are primarily responsible for personal safety and public order. It may be said on behalf of the present defendant that he did not take part in the first inception of this conspiracy, but, if the evidence of the prosecution is correct, he did come into it at a later stage, and came into it most effectively, and lent his aid in the production of the weekly periodical which is the costly weapon of this criminal campaign.

No Attack on a Free Press

I need hardly say that there is no attempt here, as there is no desire in any responsible quarter, to interfere with what, with the utmost latitude of speech, can be called freedom of speech and the liberty of the Press. Freedom of speech and the liberty of the Press may have their enemies, and perhaps the most dangerous, because the most insidious, of those enemies, are those who suggest that freedom of speech and the liberty of the Press denote, or at any rate include, a licence to public incitements to crime.

Mr. Hewart concluded by saying that on the evidence that he would call he should ask that the defendant be committed for trial.

THE EVIDENCE

Evidence of arrest, on May 9, was given by Chief Inspector Taylor, who said that he showed defendant on the previous day a copy of a telegram from the Director of Public Prosecutions to the Chief Constable of Manchester:—

"Immediately warn printers of newspaper that if the issue of the newspaper contains any incitement to destroy property or to commit crime they will be prosecuted. Immediately warn all usual newspaper distributors and sellers and railway stations that if the issue contains any incitement to destroy property or to commit crime they will publish at their own risk, and that prosecution may follow."

The defendant replied: "I have taken counsel's opinion on the matter, and this morning I stayed up till four o'clock and read every line in the paper, and there is not a line of incitement in it." The next evening, while the arrest was being made by witness and Superintendent Walker, the defendant said: "I printed this on my own responsibility; I didn't consult the directors."

In Sympathy with the Women

In cross-examination, the witness said that the telegram, part of which he had read to the defendant, was received in Manchester from London at 1.50 p.m. on May 8. At the time of the arrest there was a general conversation, in the course of which the defendant said, "I don't agree with the tactics of the militants, but I am in sympathy with the women who want freedom." Witness did not say, and did not remember Superintendent Walker saying, that either of them had read the paper, and did not find one word of incitement in it.

SIR WILLIAM COBBETT'S OBJECTION

Other evidence was then put forward of speeches delivered by members of the W.S.P.U. prior to May 7 and of the contents of issues of the *Suffragette* previous to that of May 9, Sir William Cobbett, for the defence, objected to these being used as evidence against his client. The only evidence before them to show that there was any connection between the defendant and those with whom he was alleged to be conspiring was the admission of the defendant on the night of May 8 that he had in his hand a copy of the *Suffragette*, and that the *Suffragette* had been printed by him.

Sir William said that his objection was that if his client had conspired—and he was not admitting that he had——at any rate his conspiracy only began on May 7. What other people might have said or done prior to that date could not be used against him.

The Stipendiary Magistrate said he did not see the force of that argument.

Sir William Cobbett said he assumed as regards his client that there was no conspiracy with Mrs. Pankhurst and others before May 7. In that case, how could anything that took place prior to that date be evidence of a conspiracy to which defendant was a party?

The Stipendiary Magistrate said he thought the evidence was admissible. The charge, as he understood it, was that the defendant's act was a step forward in the conspiracy previously existing.

No Evidence of Conspiracy

Sir William Cobbett said he would further contend that there was no evidence before the court of a conspiracy between the defendant and the persons named. Then the evidence was not admissible. They knew that there was a limited company called the National Labour Press, and that the company carried on business in Manchester. They also knew that up to May 7 it had no connection with the Women's Social and Political Union. How could it be said that the manager of the company took part in a conspiracy in London? There was absolutely no evidence. It might be that if the paper contained incitements to commit violence a criminal charge against the defendant would be possible. But his point at that stage was they knew the whole of the connection between the defendant and the persons alleged to be conspiring, and at present there was nothing to show that the defendant was conspiring with the persons alleged to be conspiring.

The Stipendiary Magistrate ruled that the evidence at the start of the alleged conspiracy was admissible.

Mr. Gordon Hewart pointed out that the defendant came into the conspiracy.

The Stipendiary Magistrate said that according to the evidence the alleged conspiracy began on October 18 of last year at the latest.

In cross-examination, Sir William Cobbett asked Inspector Riley if the list of offences committed by members of the W.S.P.U., and printed in the *Suffragette*, had appeared in other papers, and witness said they had.

THE DEFENDANT'S UNDERTAKING

When the Court was about to adjourn Sir William Cobbett raised a question on the undertaking given by the defendant when he previously appeared, and asked that the clause binding him not to publish the *Suffragette* should be omitted. The defendant, Sir William said, was perfectly ready to be bound by any undertaking "not to print or publish any matter inciting to crime or any acts of violence against property on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union or otherwise in any manner whatsoever."

Mr. Hewart raised no objection, and the alteration was made.

The case will be heard further next Monday.

MR. BERNARD SHAW AND A FREE PRESS

Mr. G. Bernard Shaw sent the following message to the *Labour Leader*: "There is only one comment possible on the action of the Government. The Suffragettes have succeeded in driving the Cabinet stark mad. Mr. McKenna should be examined at once by two doctors. He apparently believes himself to be the Czar of Russia—a very common form of delusion."

MR. BODKIN'S LANGUAGE

The Home Office *communiqué* indeed insists that Mr. Bodkin's speech in no way justifies the assertion that it was ever intended so to deal with the *Suffragette* or its printer. So far so good; but we cannot see how this reduced version of Mr. Bodkin's utterance can be reconciled with his language, as reported both by the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*.—**Nation.**

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THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGE

Defendants Committed for Trial

On Thursday in last week the case for the prosecution was closed at the resumed hearing, before Mr. Curtis Bennett at Bow Street, of the conspiracy charge against the seven defendants connected with the work of the Women's Social and Political Union. The case against the eighth defendant, Mrs. Drummond, as stated in our last issue, had been adjourned to July 8 on acount of her illness and consequent inability to appear. After further evidence had been heard, all the defendants in Court were committed for trial at the next Sessions at the Central Criminal Court, which open on May 27. Bail was allowed in every case.

THE EVIDENCE

As before, Mr. Travers Humphreys and Mr. William Lewis conducted the case on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions; Mr. C. A. McCurdy appeared for Miss Barrett, and Mr. Adrian Clark for the other defendants.

Detective-Sergeant Renshaw was the principal witness for the prosecution, and his evidence was followed by an interesting cross-examination. He put in a certain number of receipts for money paid to women who were shown by the "Crime Record Book" to be convicted of various offences. He also produced receipts signed by Mrs. Drummond, Miss Kenney, Miss Kerr, and Miss Barrett for the expenses of journeys to Paris, and a large envelope, on which was written, "Ex-prisoners invited to Albert Hall meeting, April 10." The contents consisted of letters from various persons, accepting or declining invitations.

Other receipts related to legal expenses incurred by the W.S.P.U. in the defence of persons charged with various offences, and to the item, "Prisoners' Hampers." Altogether, witness produced 1,200 documents relating to 456 persons.

Important Cross-Examination

In cross-examination, Mr. Clark asked: Do you know that many of the payments for which you have produced receipts were made months before conviction, and in other cases months after conviction?—Yes.

Are they all receipts for out-of-pocket expenses and board and lodging?—Not all, but the greater number are for board and lodging.

Were the greater number of payments made long before October, 1912?—Yes.

Did some of the convictions take place as far back as 1908?—Yes.

Replying to Mr. McCurdy, the witness said the great bulk of the entries in the first of the "Crimes Record Books" related to acts of disorder arising out of deputations to Ministers.

Mr. McCurdy: Is not the book, in fact, a comprehensive record of all disturbances, or proceedings arising out of alleged disturbances in connection with the suffrage movement from the year 1905?—Yes.

You say that as regards a number of names you have been able to trace the fact that they were in receipt of payment. Are the number of cases in which you have traced payments from the W.S.P.U. a very small percentage of the names contained in that book?—A very small percentage.

A Correction

Mr. Ernest Walter Carter, general manager to Messrs. Speaight and Sons, printers, Fetter Lane, was recalled for the purpose of correcting a statement, made at a previous hearing, that his firm printed the election address of Mr. George Lansbury on the occasion of the by-election at Bow and Bromley.

Other evidence having been given with regard to damage incurred through fires in pillar-boxes, the case for the prosecution was declared closed, and Mr. Bodkin asked for the prisoners' committal for conspiracy and inciting others to commit damage.

FOR THE DEFENCE

Mr. Clark pointed out that Miss Lake did not take up any duties at Lincoln's Inn House until towards the end of January. The position was simply that of a paid servant at a moderate salary, and there was no suggestion that she had ever made any speeches inciting to violence. The mere fact that she was a member of the Union was not sufficient to justify the magistrate in committing her for trial as a criminal conspirator.

With regard to Miss Lennox, who was sub-editor of the "Suffragette," the same remarks applied to her; and the evidence against Miss Kerr only went to show that she was an ordinary paid employée of the Union for the purpose of looking after the business detail. In her case also there was no suggestion that she had ever made any speeches. Mrs. Sanders was responsible for the banking account, and she did nothing else but pay the debts of the Union by which she was employed. As to Miss Kenney and Mr. Clayton, evidence had been called which they might at a later date explain if they desired to do so.

Mr. McCurdy's Speech

Mr. McCurdy said Miss Barrett's case was in many respects on all fours with those of Mrs. Sanders, Miss Kerr, Miss Lennox, and Miss Lake, but it presented some special features of its own. The case put forward by Mr. Bodkin was that the prisoners were servants and members of an organisation which existed mainly for the procuring of the commission of crimes, and that they were actively concerned in the publication of a paper, the raison d'être of which was to incite its readers to commit crimes.

Counsel submitted that the evidence had so far failed to make that out. So far from the so-called "Crime Record Book" being in any sense a list of convicted offenders in receipt of payment from the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union, it turned out that only a very small percentage of the persons whose names were there recorded had at any time received money, and as regarded even that small percentage the payments were not made at or about the times of the alleged crimes. Therefore, the case so dramatically opened by Mr. Bodkin absolutely disappeared, because the facts surely pointed to a precisely opposite state of things. So far as the objects of the Union, as expressed in its literature, were concerned, there was nothing to which exception could be taken. It was suggested that the *Suffragette* ought to be stopped because it contained incitement to crime. From October to April the contents of that journal had been under the careful surveillance of the Scotland Yard authorities, and was any English jury going to find a sub-editor guilty of conspiracy on account of her association with a paper for their share in none of the issues of which had either the printers or publishers ever been called upon to answer?

No Bombs Thrown

It was true that on one occasion Miss Barrett delivered a speech in which she appeared to have used some rather strong language about bombs, but although evidence had been called as to criminal outrages of a very deplorable character it had not been suggested that anybody connected with this movement had ever thrown a bomb.

Mr. Bodkin: Not thrown.

Mr. McCurdy: I say thrown. I hope we never shall hear that, and therefore it is perfectly obvious that when this lady says, "Every time we hear of a bomb being thrown we say, 'Thank God for that,'" she cannot be speaking literally.

Counsel added that he desired on behalf of Miss Barrett to make it plain that she claimed that she was a member of a society the purpose of which was lawful propaganda, and was engaged upon the staff of a newspaper the purpose of which was lawful controversy, and which had done nothing to give anybody the right to suppress it.

The Magistrate's Decision

Mr. Curtis Bennet said he did not wish to say anything which might do harm to the prisoners, and therefore he did not propose to answer the speeches made on their behalf. An answer could easily be given to them both.

In answer to the statutory caution, Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kenney said they were not guilty; the others made no reply. Defendants were committed for trial, and on signing an undertaking to take no part in the militant movement pending the trial, were admitted to bail.

A FREE PRESS?

Home Office Withdrawal

On Thursday evening in last week the following statement was issued on behalf of the Government:—

Neither by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons nor by Mr. Bodkin at Bow Street Police Court has any statement been made which warrants the suggestion that there has been any attempt to suppress the *Suffragette* newspaper before it was published or that any proceedings would be instituted against the printers and publishers of it unless after its publication it was found to contain incitements to the commission of crime or to the destruction of public or private property. Both before and after April 30, the day upon which Mr. Bodkin, upon the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions, gave his public warning at Bow Street, it was, and it has, remained open to the Women's Social and Political Union, or to any other publisher, either in London or elsewhere, to print and publish the *Suffragette* newspaper provided that after its publication no incitement to the commission of crime or to the destruction of property was to be found in its columns. In the two cases in which proceedings have been taken they have been commenced after publication and after an examination of the contents of the two issues of the newspaper.

SUNDAY IN HYDE PARK

A Day of Contradictions

The Press and the police between them have done their best to persuade us that the public is thoroughly incensed against the advocates of woman suffrage. It would be interesting to learn why, in that case, the public in Hyde Park are Suffragist in their opinions on Sunday morning, and anti-Suffragist on Sunday afternoon? For last Sunday morning both the New Constitutional Society and the Women's Freedom League held perfectly orderly meetings in Hyde Park, and the former had an audience computed at 4,000 people, in which there were only two interrupters, and these were habitual interrupters, who make it a practice to attend these meetings, and who, on this occasion, received no backing from the crowd. Why was there no mention of either of these meetings in Monday's papers, and why is it not deduced from the attitude of such audiences that the public is friendly to the advocates of woman suffrage? It cannot be that militancy and not suffrage arouses the fury of the crowd, for the Women's Freedom League, which had an orderly meeting on Sunday morning, is a militant society, while the three meetings which were disturbed by gangs of hooligans in the afternoon were held by constitutional societies.

The Reason for it

The reason for all this is perfectly plain to any unbiassed frequenter of Hyde Park at the present time. The pickpockets and other graceless allies of the Government lie abed of a Sunday morning, and the police, finding no one about except the ordinary public, who, as we have always maintained, are quite willing to give the suffrage speakers a hearing whether they agree with them or not, are driven back on their natural rôle of protector, and in the absence of anything striking to protect, play the part with great success. In the afternoon the flashily-dressed idler comes out in full force, and apparently is able to terrorise the police into submission; for, instead of taking a firm line with these gentlemen and turning the ringleaders out of the park or arresting them, the police eject or arrest their victims, the Suffragist speakers and any men who stand by them; and they call this the maintenance of public order! And when a respectable working man, having been thus arrested, is brought up before a magistrate (which happened last Monday before Mr. Paul Taylor), he is told that his action in interfering with the police was "indiscreet," and that it is the business of respectable citizens to aid the police by keeping away from the Park on Sunday afternoon! We can only rub our eyes and ask if we are in Wonderland.

The Encouragement of Disorder

Disorder was encouraged in the usual way last Sunday afternoon. The Men's League started their meeting at three o'clock, and having provided their own stewards this time (a precaution the threat of which had caused the police to turn up in more sufficient numbers than on the previous Sunday), they secured a fair hearing from a very large crowd, in which there was as usual a comparatively small section of howling and singing youths. Suddenly, about a hundred yards or so away, the red, blue, and yellow flag of the Teachers' Franchise League fluttered forth from another lorry, and Miss Croxon began to speak from it. The chance of baiting a woman was too good to be missed, and the disorderly element in the Men's League audience instantly made a bee line for the other meeting, where they remained in a close group (they have not the pluck to make isolated interruptions), shouting ribald remarks and singing songs until the meeting was brought to a close at the end of about twenty-five minutes. The speakers on the lorry, who included Miss Margaret Macmillan, turned their backs on the roughs and spoke to the rest of the audience, which rapidly grew to large proportions, and was perfectly attentive. The Press stated on the following day that the police brought the meeting to an end when the crowd attempted to rush the lorry. Our representative saw no evidence of such an attempt on the part of the crowd, and the meeting appeared to come to an end when the speakers wished it to do so.

Similarly, the Men's League meeting, bereft of its band of organised persecutors, proceeded to an orderly conclusion, the speakers anwering many questions put to them at the end of their speeches. It is interesting to note in this connection that a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* was told by an inspector, in answer to a question, that the meeting had been broken up by the crowd! Never was there a more law-abiding crowd, when the hooligans had been withdrawn from it, outside church walls!

The National Union's Meeting

An immense body of police made a ring round the platform of the N.U.W.S.S., and prevented both the hooligans from reaching the lorry and the greater mass of the spectators from hearing the speakers. Backed by a large sheet bearing the words "Law-abiding Suffragists," Miss Robertson made a racy opening speech which was well received. Subsequent speakers did not have such a patient hearing, largely because of the inability of the greater part of the audience to hear them, and the ribald and insulting interpolations of the rowdy element, when Miss Isabella Ford was making a fine speech about the disabilities of working women, showed the character of the interrupters whom the Press represents as the British public showing its resentment against militant methods. At the end of twenty minutes every idle youth in the audience was singing and shouting, and although these were vastly outnumbered by the rest of the audience, the Chairman thought it better to bring her meeting to an end before the whole list of speakers had been heard.

The Real Fight

When the suffrage meetings, to all appearances, were over for the afternoon, the real fight for Free Speech began. For it was then that the purple, white, and green flag was raised by members of the W.S.P.U., who, unlike the other societies, have been refused platform, police protection, and all the other privileges of the open-air speaker in Hyde Park. It is hardly necessary to describe over again what has now become a familiar scene in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. Every time a woman began to speak beneath the militant tricolour, standing on the grass and struggling with every disadvantage in the way of holding a meeting, a large crowd instantly assembled. These crowds were not unfriendly, for the speakers always appeared unexpectedly, and the hooligans had no time to form up before the woman was surrounded with ordinary members of the public. As long as the police ignored these meetings they were perfectly orderly; when they interfered and took the woman, and any man who tried to protect her, out of the Park, the hooligans rushed in, mobbed and hustled any woman who came handy, and created a disgraceful scene both inside and outside the Park gates. In one case a meeting went on for nearly an hour because the police left it alone; in another, a woman who had been ejected came back and carried on a second meeting as long as she felt inclined. One of the worst riots of the afternoon occurred when five mounted constables turned to ride out of the Park. Hooligans in the distance thought they were driving out some woman, and came running towards them. Instantly everybody began to run, and the five horsemen became the centre of a seething mob, and it fared badly with any woman in the crowd who was suspected of being a Suffragist.

Of the courage of the women who face these things, Sunday after Sunday, we cannot speak too highly. But what are we to say of the Home Office that is responsible for the treatment meted out to them, and for an indefensible attack upon the rights of Free Speech?

WELCOME TO "FREE SPEECH PRISONERS"

At the reception given in their honour at the Portman Rooms last Monday evening, both Miss Nina Boyle and Miss Anna Munro spoke of the great improvements that were noticeable in prison conditions at Holloway Gaol since Suffragists were first imprisoned there. They had been released from Holloway that morning, after serving a sentence of fourteen days for vindicating the rights of Free Speech outside the gates of Hyde Park (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, May 9).

Miss Anna Munro contrasted her recent treatment with that in 1908, and said the Suffragists had effected a wonderful improvement. Now they kept their own clothes, the windows were clean and made to open, and the baths were as good as they could wish in their own homes.

Miss Boyle said the Suffragists had a wing of their own at Holloway. They had nice hot water pipes and all the latest improvements, and were able to climb up to the window and exchange sentiments with their friends. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Despard then spoke, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was present at the reception, and was asked to say a few words in the place of Mr. John Scurr, who had been arrested that night, spoke of the movement as a whole, showing both its unity and its diversity, and how the fight for the Vote involved all great questions.

Miss Nina Boyle further spoke of their horrible experiences in the prison van that took them to Holloway, and an article from her on this important matter will be found on page 490.

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The "OXTON" is the smart well-tailored Coat and Skirt shown on left. It is in Black and White Woollen Shepherd Check with the Coat lined Silk, & has a wide collar of Black Corded Silk, **63/-**

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SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 "
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 "
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 "
*Miss Annie Bell	April 22	3 weeks
Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 months
Miss Evelyn Manesta	" "	5 "
Miss Marie Neil	May 5	21 days
Miss Miriam Pratt	May 21	Remanded

* Released April 29 under Cat and Mouse Act, re-arrested May 18.

THE MANCHESTER PRISONERS

Miss Evelyn Manesta, who was sentenced on April 23 to one month's imprisonment and an additional four months if she failed to find sureties for good behaviour for twelve months for damage at the City Art Gallery, Manchester, has not been released at the expiry of a month. It is presumed, therefore, that she has refused to obtain sureties, and will have to serve a further four months.

THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL IN OPERATION

Three women and one man—Miss Ella Stevenson, Miss Phyllis Brady, Miss Millicent Dean, and Mr. Hugh Franklin—who were released under the Cat and Mouse Act, are, we understand, still at large, having failed to surrender themselves on the expiry of their licences. Miss Annie Bell, who was sentenced on April 22 to three weeks' imprisonment for obstruction outside Holloway, was similarly released and also failed to return to prison on the date named, was arrested at Brighton on Sunday last, and has again been taken to Holloway.

This is the first case of the re-arrest of a prisoner under the new Act, and it was only with great difficulty that the police traced Miss Bell.

MISS MANNING'S FINEPA ID

The following letter has been sent by Miss Geraldine Manning to the magistrate who fined her 20s. and 5s. compensation in the Dublin Police Court on May 8 for damaging a bust of Mr. John Redmond, and gave her a week in which to pay:—

"Sir,—Owing to the unexpected death of my eldest sister, I have changed my mind about paying the fine that was imposed on me at the police courts this day week, and enclose P.O.O. for £1 5s., being the amount of the fine and damages.

"I may add that nothing but a bereavement so deep could have persuaded me from making a protest that was so imperative.—Faithfully yours,

"G. E. MANNING.

"May 15, 1913."

We gladly insert this letter, knowing that Miss Manning would have allowed nothing trivial to interfere with her purpose of making her protest effective; and we take this opportunity of tendering her our sincere sympathy in her great bereavement.

IN MEMORIAM

Miss Manning

The suffrage cause in Ireland has suffered a severe loss in the death of Miss Manning. She was always a sincere friend (particularly to the militants) and passionate supporter of the cause for freedom. Her fine militant spirit in a frail, suffering body was an inspiration to all who came in contact with her. It is not for us to mourn for her, the brave soldier who has fought the great fight and won the victory, but for ourselves, who are still in the dust and heat of the battle, and who shall so sorely miss her loyal sympathy and the voice which was always so ready to cheer us on.

Sir Eustace Fitzmaurice Piers

The Votes for Women Movement (and also the Fellowship, in which he was greatly interested) in and around Amersham, has sustained a deep loss in the death of Sir Eustace Fitzmaurice Piers, who passed away on May 10 at "Tristernagh," Chesham Bois. His many activities in the cause and his keen and ready sympathy will long be remembered with gratitude by all those whose privilege it was to know him and work with him.

ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES TO BE HEARD SHORTLY IN THE COURTS

Arising out of the broken windows of November, 1911 and March, 1912, two actions for damages are shortly to be tried in the Law Courts. In the first of these the defendants are Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke, who represents both herself and the members of the W.S.P.U. In the second the defendants are Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. We give below particulars of the claims made by the respective firms who are parties to the actions:—

FIRST CONSOLIDATED ACTION

NAME.	PLACE.	PERSONS ALLEGED TO HAVE BROKEN WINDOWS	AMOUNT.
Robinson and Cleaver, Ltd.	156-170, Regent Street	Evelyn Huddlestone Isabella Potbury Olive Wharry	123 16 8
Swears and Wells, Ltd.	38, Regent Street	Helen Craggs Dorothy Bowker Edith Lane	113 19 7
	180-186, Regent Street		55 13 0
White House Linen Specialists, Ltd.	51, New Bond Street	Annie Humphreys	7 0 0
T. J. Harries and Co., Ltd.	258, Oxford Street	Nellie Neave and others	64 4 6

SECOND CONSOLIDATED ACTION

No.	Name of Plaintiff.	Date.	Place.	Names of Persons alleged to have broken the windows.	Amount of Damage. £ s. d.
1	West End Clothiers Co., Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	71, Strand	Margaret Wallis	49 13 10
		Mar. 1, 1912	66, Regent Street	—	15 3 9
2	Cunard Steamship Co., Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	29-30, Cockspur Street	—	32 1 8
		Mar. 1, 1912	"	—	28 8 4
3	J. Lyons & Co., Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	143, Strand	—	1 2 5
		"	445, Strand	Vera Wentworth	6 15 8
		"	450, Strand	Cecilia (or Cissie) Willcox (or Wilcox)	8 3 0
		"	Westminster Bridge Rd. Station	Katherine Gatty (or Gatly)	6 15 7
		Mar. 1, 1912	37, Piccadilly	—	5 13 11
		"	168, Regent St.	—	4 5 6
		"	154, Strand	Mabel de Roxe	9 18 6
		Mar. 1, 1912	143, Strand	—	6 18 2
		"	55, Strand	—	10 2 8
4	Jays, Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	243, Regent Street	—	3 19 2
		Mar. 1, 1912	243-253 (odd Nos.), Regent Street, and International Fur Stores (163-5 Regent Street)	Clara Giveen Violet Aitken Mary Ann Mitchell Aldham	33 4 10
		Mar. 7, 1912	251, Oxford Street	Kate Conway	7 18 10
5	National Bank, Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	180, Strand	Frances Rowe Violet Jones and Lelgarde Atheling	44 2 2
6	Herman Appenrodt	"	5, Strand	Hester (or Esther) Mitchell	4 0 0
		Mar. 1, 1912	"	Clara Lambert	3 4 6
		"	442, Strand	Blanch Edwards	9 1 2
		"	227, Piccadilly	Elizabeth Young	19 15 2
7	A. Davis & Co.	Nov. 21, 1911	10, Strand	Hestor (or Esther) Mitchell	4 16 3
		Mar. 1, 1912	"	—	4 10 2
		"	200, Piccadilly	Frances Haig (or Ede)	14 9 6
8	Lockharts, Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	453, Strand	Vera Wentworth	10 2 9
		Mar. 1, 1912	25, Coventry Street	Florence White	4 1 8
9	Frederick Cleaver	Nov. 21, 1911	111, Strand	Margaret Small	6 18 4
		Mar. 1, 1912	"	—	5 6 10
10	Eugene Rimmel, Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	79, Strand	Isabel Potbury	11 12 2
		"	"	—	12 0 0
		"	"	—	3 12 6
11	Netherlands State Railways (a corporate body)	"	33, Cockspur Street	—	5 12 1
		Mar. 1, 1912	"	—	4 17 5
12	Daily News, Ltd.	Nov. 21, 1911	19-22, Bouverie Street	Margaret Brown	7 4 11
13	Joshua Turner	"	5, Grand Hotel Buildings, Trafalgar Square	Aileen (or Aleen) Connor Smith	2 18 2
		Mar. 1, 1912	"	—	2 10 9
14	Stroud, Son and Richards	Nov. 21, 1911	5, Bridge Street, Westminster	—	4 13 6
15	D. H. Evans & Co., Ltd.	Mar. 1, 1912	290-320 (even Nos.), Oxford St.	Janet Augusta Boyd and Florence Eliza Haig	156 1 7
16	Waring & Gillow, Ltd.	"	164-180 (even Nos.), Oxford St.	Emma Wylie and Barbara Wylie	136 14 10
17	Marshall & Snelgrove, Limited	"	334-348 (even Nos.), Oxford St.	Eileen (or Emma) Casey and Olive Walton	84 6 4
18	Gerard, Ltd.	"	178, Regent Street	Laura Grey	37 6 10
19	John Collard Vickery	"	179-181-183, Regent Street	Sarah Carwin	30 16 10
20	International Sleeping Car Company (a corporate body)	"	20, Cockspur Street	—	29 18 1
21	Edwards & Sons	"	159-161, Regent St.	Janette Green	28 12 9
22	Drew & Sons	"	33-35-37, Regent Street (Piccadilly Circus)	—	26 2 9
23	Gaffin & Co.	"	63, Regent Street	Brita Gurney	29 11 7
24	Victory & Co.	"	162, Regent Street	—	19 17 4
25	Leon Edelshain (trading as The Jewellers and Silversmiths Association)	"	134, Regent Street	Kitty Marion	15 15 9
26	André & Co.	"	163, Piccadilly	Molly Dobree Cowan	21 17 2
27	Augustus Bide	"	158, New Bond St.	—	13 14 0
28	Redmayne & Co., Ltd.	"	19-20, New Bond Street	—	13 12 6
29	Alfred Clark	"	33, New Bond St.	Catherine Swaine	21 16 1
30	B. Burnett & Co., Ltd.	Mar. 1, 1912	198, Regent Street	—	13 1 6
31	Morny Freres, Ltd.	"	201, Regent Street	Barbara Ayrton Gould	12 6 3
32	Burberrys (a firm)	"	30-31, Haymarket	Eliza Garrett (or Carrett)	11 9 5
33	William Claringbold Williams	"	102, Regent Street	—	10 18 5
34	Fine Art Military and Sporting Gallery, Etd.	"	31, New Bond St.	—	8 17 3
35	Sewell & Crowther	"	21, Cockspur St.	—	13 12 4
36	Gladwell & Co.	"	227a, Regent St.	Edith Downing	8 11 0
37	John Browning	"	146, Strand	—	8 8 9
38	S. Sainsbury (a firm)	"	136, Regent Street	Kitty Marion	8 7 4
39	Edwin Marriott Hodgkins	"	158b, New Bond Street	—	8 6 0
40	Joseph Lang & Son, Ltd.	"	10[illegible], New Bond St	Hilda Burkitt (or Burkett)	8 6 0
41	Bewlay & Co., Ltd.	"	156, Strand	Mabel de Roxe	8 5 5
42	Goodyers (a firm)	"	174, Regent Street	—	7 15 6
43	John Allen	"	203a, Regent St.	—	7 5 9
44	Phillips, Ltd.	"	43-44, New Bond Street	—	7 5 2
45	Joseph Greenwall and Co.	"	128, Strand	Edith Marion Begbie	6 15 6
46	Gophir Diamond Co., Ltd.	"	176, Regent Street	—	6 12 3
47	Frederick Charles Bayley	"	34, Strand	—	6 10 8
48	Shepheard & Co.	"	104, Regent Street	—	6 10 8
49	Archibald Ramsden, Ltd.	"	103, New Bond St.	Hilda Burkitt (or Burkett)	6 6 9
50	Nederland Royal Mail Line (a corporate body)	"	60, Haymarket	—	5 17 3
51	Downs & Co.	"	33, Strand	Helen Collier	5 7 5
52	James A. Sinclair & Co., Ltd.	"	54, Haymarket	—	5 4 3
53	Hedges & Butler, Ltd.	"	155, Regent Street	Janette Green	5 1 2
54	Muhlenkamp Bros., Ltd.	"	12, New Bond St.	—	4 7 6
55	W. W. Rouch & Co.	"	161, Strand	—	4 4 7
56	William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.	"	23, Cockspur St.	Edith Stacy (or Stacey)	4 1 4
57	Partridge & Cooper, Ltd.	"	192, Fleet Street	—	4 0 1
58	George Waugh & Co.	"	177, Regent Street	—	3 18 5
59	Ross, Ltd.	"	31, Cockspur St,	—	3 14 0
60	Robson & Co.	"	23, Coventry St.	—	3 13 1
61	G. H. Elkan & Co.	"	129, Strand	Edith Marion Begbie	3 9 6
62	A. Barrett & Sons	"	157-158, Piccadilly	Genee (or Genie) Shepherd (or Sheppard)	3 8 7
63	Samuels, Ltd.	"	150, Strand	Laura Gargett	3 8 7
64	Hudson Bros., Ltd.	"	160, New Bond St.	Emma Bowen	3 5 8
65	Joseph Last	"	21, Coventry St.	—	3 3 4
66	Palfrey & Bowen	"	145, Strand	—	3 0 1
67	Richard Stringer Starkie	"	126, Strand	Edith Marion Begbie	2 17 3
68	Underwood and Farrant	"	56, Haymarket	—	2 16 9
69	Thomas Wing	"	44, Piccadilly	—	2 16 0
70	Thomas Richard Cass	"	443, Strand	Blanche Edwards	2 14 10
71	Gawthorn and Hutt	"	24, Cockspur St.	Edith Stacy (or Stacey)	2 12 3
72	Hobson Bros.	"	53, Piccadilly	—	2 11 6
73	Augener, Ltd.	"	199, Regent St.	—	2 11 3
74	Hunt & Roskell, Ltd.	"	156, New Bond St.	—	2 5 9
75	Mabie, Todd & Co.	"	95a, Regent St.	Emily Duval	2 5 3
76	Samuel Henson	"	97, Regent St.	Emily Duval	2 3 10
77	Charles Joseph Clements	"	103, Strand	Dorothy Wharton	2 0 9
78	Charles Bowman Vaughan	"	39, Strand	Charlotte Marsh	1 17 5
79	Swiss Federal Railways (a corporate body)	"	11b, Regent Street	—	1 0 5
80	Sir John Bennett, Ltd.	"	105, Regent Street	Sarah Bennett	0 18 1
81	McBirney and Mills	"	433, Strand	Leah Josephs	0 15 3
82	Isaac Edward Leapman (trading as I. Goss)	"	167, Regent Street	—	0 14 7
83	Johnston & Co., Ltd.	"	111, Regent Street	Peggy Julian (or Julien)	0 10 10
84	Brown, Shipley & Co.	"	123, Pall Mall	—	0 4 2
85	John Barker & Co., Ltd.	Mar. 4, 1912	63-97 (odd Nos. except 85) Kensington High Street, 123, 125 & 127, Kensington High Street	Lilias Mitchel, Edith Hudson & Ellison Gibb Ellison Gibb & Emily Fussell	43 17 5 95 6 1
86	McCombie Bros., Ltd.	"	149, Kensington High Street 89, Victoria Street	Janie Allan Doreen Allan	34 10 6 6 12 6
87	Saxone Shoe Co., Ltd.	"	145, Kensington High Street	Janie Allan	18 5 8
88	G. Cozens & Co., Ltd.	"	34, Edgware Road	Margaret Rowlett (or Rowlatt)	6 12 7
89	Regal Corset Co.	"	137, Kensington High Street	—	6 3 3
90	Weldons, Ltd.	"	42, Maiden Lane Covent Garden	Louise Archbold & Annie Baker	4 15 7
91	Commercial Cable Co. (a Corporate body)	"	1, Northumberland Avenue	Violet Bland and Ethel V. Baldock	1 18 1
92	Lilley and Skinner, Ltd.	Mar. 6, 1912	63, Westbourne Grove	Ethel Lewis	33 19 4
93	Frederick Gorringe, Ltd.	Mar. 7, 1912	49 to 75 (odd Nos.) Buckingham Palace Road	Georgina Fanny Cheffins and Kate Bard	75 18 0
					£1,688 12 2

GERMAN AND AMERICAN VIEWS ON MILITANCY

In a statement sent to the N.U.W.S.S., and printed in some newspapers last Wednesday, Dr. Gertrude Baumer, President of the Committee of the German Bund of Women's Franchise Societies, says:—

"The revolutionary practices of the Suffragettes, the representatives of a small part of the movement for women's suffrage in England, have been much discussed by the German public and the German Press, and universally condemned. Our German movement has given sufficient proof of the great difference between its own quiet and patient work and the boisterous tactics of militancy, yet every fresh act of violence on the part of the Suffragettes is used against us to prove the danger of our demands and aims."

To meet these false deductions the Bund decided that publicity should be given to a declaration (with reasons) "that any application of force stands in direct contradiction to the views and aims of our movement, and that it can neither be justified by conviction nor by self-sacrifice."

Repudiation of the Criticism

It appears from an open letter of protest addressed to Dr. Gertrude Baumer on behalf of the rank and file of the German Women's Franchise Societies, that the above manifesto was written without the authority of the general meeting of members, who were not consulted on the matter. By the kindness of Fraülein Heymann, Secretary, and Dr. Augspurg, ex-President of the Bund, we have been enabled to see a copy of the open letter, protesting against this criticism of English Suffragists, which, the letter says, ought never to have been made without the approval of the general meeting. The manifesto, it declares, "has not only had the effect of annoying a number of members, but many were filled with just anger and a sense of deep shame."

Striking their English Sisters in the Back

The letter of protest concludes thus:—

"That German women, in the name of the United Woman's Movement, should strike their English sisters in the back—Englishwomen who, through their Government, have been forced to the utmost desperation . . . and for conscience' sake have suffered martyrdom such as has never been experienced in cultured States.

"And why have German women done this? In order to be pleasing in the eyes of the ignorant masses of the Fatherland. . . . This publication will be a sad page in the history of the German Women's Suffrage Leagues, and future generations will be ashamed of it."

DR. ANNA SHAW AND MILITANCY

Having read in the Press, last Saturday, that the Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, the American Suffragist now visiting England, had been condemning militancy and attributing to it a Suffrage reaction in the States, we asked her if this report correctly expressed her views, and received the following interesting reply from her:—

"I cannot express my indignation on reading this report of what I did not say at the Westminster Hotel. I cannot give you the exact words I used, but as nearly as I can recall them they were these:—

"In answer to a question: Was militancy injuring our cause in America? I said, It is commonly claimed that the recent acts of the militants of England were the cause of our defeat in Michigan, and a great many women believed it, but *I do not*. This was the excuse used by cowardly men to hide their own cowardice and lack of justice. If they had not had that excuse they would have used some other—'When all the women want it,' or something like that—but the English militants were a new excuse, and appealed to the prejudice of the people, and so it was used on every hand.

"I said nothing about the opinion that American women would be unsafe with the ballot. Such a statement would make our men appear more foolish than they are, for since we have women voters now, millions of them, in the United States, their actual practice would show whether they are safe or not.

"It is unquestionably true that within the last three months there has been a reaction against us in America, and it is laid to the militancy in England, but we know that it is due to the Legalised Liquor Traffic, the White Slave Traffic, and the keepers of dens of iniquity, and a new opponent, the proprietors of a base sort of moving picture shows. In fact, there is a nation-wide combination of all the forces of evil who profit on the degradation of the people; and the fight from now on will be a most difficult one, because of the vast sums of money which will be used in every possible manner against us. There is no question about this combination. They are fighting for their existence, and they have both money and political power, and we have little of either. Our only hope in the future is that they will over-reach themselves and destroy themselves in their mad struggle to destroy us.

"I wish to thank you for permitting me to correct the report of Saturday."

CHARGE AGAINST MR. JOHN SCURR

Last Monday night Mr. John Scurr, President of the London District Committee of the Dockers' Union, was arrested at Poplar as the result of a speech made at a meeting of the W.S.P.U. held at Leeds on April 22. He passed the night in Poplar Police Station, and on Tuesday morning was accompanied to Leeds by police officers. He had a good send-off at King's Cross, among those on the platform being his wife, who is a member of the Poplar Board of Guardians, Miss Dolly Lansbury, Miss Underwood of the W.F.L., and several members of the W.S.P.U. and the Dockers' Union.

IN THE POLICE COURT

On Tuesday afternoon Mr. Scurr was brought before the Leeds Stipendiary magistrate (Mr. H. Marshall).

The Chief Constable (Mr. Lindley) asked for an adjournment till Wednesday, when a representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions, under whose instructions the proceedings were taken, would be in attendance.

What is the Charge?

Mr. Willey, for the defendant, asked what the charge was.

The Stipendiary Magistrate: It is under the Malicious Damage to Property Act.

Mr. Willey: Yes, I know; but there is a doubt as to whether anyone knows what this charge really is. At present a very important point is pending. A case has been stated on behalf of Mr. Lansbury as to whether this Act of Parliament includes what the authorities desire to bring in.

Mr. Willey went on to say that his client had been arrested at his own house for an offence which took place a month ago. It struck him as an extreme, if not a harsh measure. He asked that the defendant should be released on his own recognisances until Wednesday, when he would produce bail.

The Chief Constable said he did not oppose the application. The defendant did not try to avoid arrest.

The Stipendiary Magistrate said he would allow the defendant out on recognisances of £25 to appear on Wednesday.

Mr. Willey: And then I will agree to a further adjournment subject to bail.

Renewal of Bail

On Wednesday Mr. John Scurr appeared again before the Stipendiary for the purpose of renewal of bail. The hearing of the case was adjourned until Thursday.

An article by Mr. John Scurr appears on page 486.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN'S CANDIDATURE

The elections for the House of Representatives in the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia will take place on May 31, and readers of Votes for Women should be especially interested in them on account of Miss Vida Goldstein's candidature for the Kooyong Division. A vigorous campaign is being conducted on her behalf, for, as the *Woman Voter* (the organ of the Women's Political Association, of which Miss Goldstein is President) says: "It is essential that women should be returned to the Commonwealth Parliament, for which their eligibility is beyond question. The interests of women are affected by every measure brought before Parliament, but only the man's point of view finds direct expression therein. This also is the opinion of the people of Finland, whose women members of Parliament are now a commonplace of the Finnish Constitution. The result of the Kooyong election on May 31 will be awaited with great interest by English Suffragists.

"CAN WOMEN BE SOLICITORS?"

Interesting Case to Women

The case which is to come up before Mr. Justice Joyce at the end of this week or the beginning of next, and will decide whether women have a right to attend the preliminary examination that will enable them to become solicitors, arose out of the refusal of the Law Society Conference last autumn to grant them this right to be examined and to enter the profession. The four women who made the application at once commenced separate actions against the Law Society in the Chancery Division, the writs were served, and one of the actions will be taken as a test case. The four women are:—

Miss Gwyneth Marjorie Bebb, formerly of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, who took a first class in law;

Miss Karin Costello, late of Newnham College, Cambridge, who took a first class in the Moral Science tripos;

Miss Maud Isabel Ingram, late of Girton College, Cambridge, who took honours in the History and Law triposes;

Miss Lucy Frances Nettlefold, who is still at Newnham College, and has taken a first class in the first part of the Law tripos.

Counsel retained are Mr. Buckmaster, K.C., and Mr. R. A. Wright, and the solicitors are Messrs. Withers, Bensons, Birkett, and Davies.

(An article on the position of women with regard to the legal profession, in England and in countries abroad, will be found on page 493).

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, May 14.—At Leeds, before Mr. C. M. Atkinson, charged with inciting to crime, Mrs. Leonora Cohen; bound over to appear in Court after the decision of the Court of Appeal in regard to Mr. Lansbury's case.

Thursday, May 15.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with conspiracy, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Barrett, Miss Lake, Miss Lennox, and Mr. E. G. Clayton; committed for trial, bail allowed.

Friday, May 16.—At the Northern Police Court, Dublin, before Mr. Macinerney, charged with having broken glass at the office of the United Irish League and at the house of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mrs. Margaret Palmer, Mrs. Dora Ryan, and Miss Annie Walsh; fined £1 each and £2 compensation; one week allowed for payment.

Tuesday, May 20—At Manchester, charged with conspiracy as the publisher of the *Suffragette*, Mr. Edgar Whiteley; remanded till Monday, bail allowed.

At the City Police Court, Leeds, before Mr. H. Marshall, charged with being a disturber of the peace by inciting to violence, Mr. John Scurr; remanded till Thursday.

Wednesday, May 21.—At the Cambridge Police Court, before the Mayor and other magistrates, charged with setting fire to a house at Cambridge on Saturday last, Miss Miriam Pratt; remanded till the following day in custody.

WOMAN WRITER'S TAX RESISTANCE

To-morrow (Saturday) goods belonging to Miss Honnor Morten will be sold on distraint, subsequent to her refusal to pay taxes. Miss Morten has often contributed to the literary columns of Votes for Women.

"WOMEN'S LAUGHTER"

The current number of the *Oxford Fortnightly* contains a special article on Woman Suffrage called "Women's Laughter," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Copies of the review, price 6d., can be obtained from Henderson's, the bookseller, in Charing Cross Road.

"THE WOMAN'S THEATRE"

A Co-operative Theatrical Scheme for Women

"My idea is to establish a great co-operative scheme extending to all branches of the woman's movement, even to those not especially occupied in furthering woman suffrage," said Miss Inez Bensusan, in the course of a conversation with our representative on the subject of "The Woman's Theatre," of which she is the Honorary Organiser.

The Actresses' Franchise League has always recognised the Theatre as a valuable medium for propaganda, and the Play Department of the League, which in Miss Bensusan's hands has become self-supporting, has done admirable work for years in this direction, as every Suffrage society knows. "The Woman's Theatre" is an extension of the same theory, the A.F.L. having taken the Court Theatre for one week, towards the end of next October, in order to produce (for the first time in England) Brieux's new play, "La Femme Seule" (translated by Mrs. Bernard Shaw), also Björnson's "A Gauntlet," recently performed by the Play Actors, and some new one-act plays dealing with the woman's movement. If the venture is a success, Miss Bensusan looks forward to repeating the experiment, probably for a longer season, later on.

To be Run by Women Only

"I want it to be run entirely by women," Miss Bensusan explained to us. "The whole business management and control will be in the hands of women, I mean—there will be women business and stage-managers, producers, and so on. Actors and authors will naturally be drawn from both sexes, and so will (at present) the scenic artists. My ultimate hope," she continued ambitiously, "is to establish a Women's Theatrical Agency in connection with the Woman's Theatre; but that must remain for the present only a dream, as there are many difficulties in the way of such a departure over here, although in New York the two most successful theatrical agencies are run by women."

The most original part of the new scheme is, perhaps, the financial side of it. This is also based on the co-operative principle, so that not only will individual guarantors have a share in the profits of the undertaking, but also, if tickets are bought in larger quantities by Suffrage Societies and sold again at ordinary theatre prices to their members, the Societies will gain a double profit. To be more explicit: it is calculated that the sum of £450 will cover expenses for the whole week. Miss Bensusan proposes that every penny made beyond that sum shall count as profits, and that one-third of these shall go to the Actresses' Franchise League, and the remaining two-thirds be divided among the other guarantors in proportion to their guarantees.

For every £1 guarantee, five tickets to the value of 25s. 6d., that is, one seat in every part of the house, will be supplied; those who wish two adjacent seats in every part of the house must pay not less than £2.

The Advantage to Suffrage Societies

The full financial advantage of the scheme to Suffragists will, however, only accrue if Suffrage Societies become guarantors, and then sell the tickets thus obtained to their members and friends at ordinary theatre prices. They will then gain 5s. 6d. in the pound, besides the ultimate profits accruing from the results of the week's performances. The latter will be paid, in the case of individual guarantors, to any suffrage society they choose to name.

That Suffragists as a body are ready to welcome such a scheme is seen in the representative character of the General Committee that has been formed. The list already includes the Lady Betty Balfour, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Adeline Bourne, Lady Cowdray, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Bessie Hatton, Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Harben, and many others, showing that every shade of suffragist and feminist opinion will be represented on the Committee.

MISS INEZ BENSUSAN.

COMING EVENTS

The Westminster Branch of the *Daily Herald* League is giving a Social Evening and dance on May 24, at the Caxton Hall, from 7—11.30 p.m. During the evening Mr. George Lansbury will present a banner to the Branch. Tickets, price 6d. each, obtainable from the Branch Sec., W. Taylor, 13, S.E. Block, Peabody Buildings, Buckingham Gate.; at the Women's Freedom League, the Women's Tax Resistance League, the Westminster Suffrage Teashop, Tothill Street, and at the Hall.

A great demonstration to demand Votes for Women will be held next Sunday, May 25, in East London. This will include a procession, which will assemble at the East India Dock Gates at 3.30 p.m., and march to the Victoria Park, where a mass meeting will be held, with many platforms. A large number of Suffrage Societies and Labour organizations are taking part—the Women's Social and Political Union, the Actresses' Franchise League, the New Constitutional Society, the Forward Cymric Union, the Men's Political Union, the Men's Federation, the *Herald* League, and numerous Trade Unions.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union are organising meetings to be held from 4 to 6 every Saturday afternoon, in the Victoria Park until the end of August. The Union will hold its monthly meeting at the Essex Hall, Strand, on Monday, June 2, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, Rev. Egerton Swain, Mrs. M. E. Davies; chair, Mrs. Mansell Moullin.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, May 25, at 12 noon, and at Victoria Park in the afternoon. They will have an Office At Home on Tuesday, May 27, at 3 p.m., when the speaker will be Lady Meyer.

Mr. Baillie-Weaver is to speak on "The Status of Woman and How to Raise it," at the Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, on Sunday, May 25, at 11 a.m.

A Sweated Workers' Exhibition, under the auspices of the Women Writers' Suffrage League and the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, will be held on Wednesday, May 28, at the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel, from 3 to 6.30 p.m. Speakers: the Earl of Lytton, Miss Clementina Black, A. G. Gardiner, Esq., J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq., and Mrs. Pember Reeves. Tickets, 1s., obtainable at the offices of both Societies.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Streatham Hall, High Road, Streatham, on Thursday, May 29, at 8.15 p.m. Chair, Miss Leonora Tyson.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold an open-air meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, June 8.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" AND OXFORD COLLEGES

Miss M. B. Crook has received the following letter from Miss A. E. Levett, Vice-Principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, in reference to the letter printed in our last issue under the title "VOTES FOR WOMEN at Oxford":—

"Dear Madam,—My attention has been drawn to a letter from you in VOTES FOR WOMEN of May 16, in which you say, 'Your paper is also, I believe, prohibited in the common rooms of the women's colleges here.'

"I should like to point out to you that this statement or suggestion is entirely inaccurate and misleading. In none of the four colleges and halls for women has there been the least attempt to prohibit any newspaper; indeed, the question has never been raised. It is true that the majority of the students belong to non-militant societies for women's suffrage, and that therefore VOTES FOR WOMEN is not subscribed to by the Junior Common Room funds, but individuals both can and do take it regularly.

"I should be very much obliged if you would be so kind as to write to the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, withdrawing part of your letter in accordance with the above facts, or, if you prefer it, would you send on my letter for publication.—Yours truly,

"A. E. LEVETT (Vice-Principal)."

Miss Crook replied to Miss Levett as follows:—

"Dear Madam,—I am very pleased to receive your letter, and will forward it immediately to VOTES FOR WOMEN, as you suggest. I will explain why I wrote, and quote my authorities; the withdrawal, so far as there is one, does not lie with me.

"I have recently been interviewed by the Principal of the Home Students, and told that VOTES FOR WOMEN can never be permitted in the Common Room of the Home Students. The reason given me was that they never have it, or anything of that nature about, or badges worn, at the women's colleges—and we must all be alike! I was sceptical of the statement at the time; I wrote to VOTES to challenge it, and am glad to have your letter. You will notice I only challenged it in a very limited form, never mentioning restrictions upon individuals except at 'Cherwell Edge,' and omitting all reference to prohibition of badges.

"It will be very satisfactory if Oxford can be shown to be ahead of Cambridge in the attitude towards the suffrage movement in its women's colleges. An entirely unsolicited letter from Girton reached me this morning, containing the following: 'We are almost all of us Suffragettes, *though we are not allowed to belong to militant societies* (the italics are mine) or adopt their tactics while we are in residence.'—Believe me, yours truly,

"M. B. CROOK.

"25, Chalfont Road, Oxford."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents are attributed in the Press to Suffragists:—

Wednesday, May 14.—Organ at Parish Church at Penn, Bucks, destroyed by fire. No clue. Three women arrested on suspicion, but afterwards discharged.

Wooden bridge spanning the Great Central Railway between Bollington and Macclesfield partly destroyed by fire; no clue.

Thursday, May 15.—Organ-blowing apparatus at St. Ann's Church, Eastbourne, burnt. The words "Vote, vote, vote," scratched on a painting in a side chapel.

Bomb reported to have been found in the private chapel of the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith.

Many Norwich shop windows badly cut and scratched.

Saturday, May 17.—Newly-built house, almost completed, destroyed by fire at Cambridge, damage estimated at between £700 and £1,000. Lady's gold watch found, one arrest.

Fire in new building being constructed by Cambridge University for the Balfour Professor of Genetics.

Sunday, May 18.—Fire in the Parish Room of St. Anne's, Eastbourne.

Monday, May 19.—Fire in letter-box at Camden Town.

Wednesday, May 21.—At 1 a.m. bomb exploded in west dome, Royal Observatory, Edinburgh. Thirteen inch hole made in floor, two windows blown out, some instruments damaged.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters' Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
23, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
45, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robart Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Woman's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Woman's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY

In asking its supporters for subscriptions of five shillings or half-a-crown towards the expenses of moving into new premises, the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage is offering them an immediate and practical return for their money in a particularly good entertainment to be held at 27, Pembridge Crescent, W., on Wednesday, May 28, at 8.30 p.m. Among the artists taking part in it will be Miss Evangeline Florence, Miss Margaret Balfour, Miss May Mukle, Mr. Gerald Walenn, Mr. Dawson Freer, and Miss Margaret Damer; and one of the events in the programme is the delightful duologue between a charwoman and an "Anti," called "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky" (by Evelyn Glover), which alone would repay any Suffragist with a sense of humour for the expenditure of five shillings. The New Constitutional Society, which is the friend of all Suffrage Leagues, militant and non-militant, feels that it is justified in making a wide appeal for support on this occasion; and it is hoped that many applications will be made without delay to Miss Wright at 27, Pembridge Crescent, for tickets of admission on May 28.

PROHIBITION OF INDOOR MEETINGS

A Church offered to Suffragist Speakers

We spoke last week of the scare among owners of halls, who, frightened by Mr. Bodkin's pronouncements, hesitated to let their halls for Suffrage meetings. It is interesting, therefore, to hear that at Walthamstow, where permission to hold a meeting in a hall was withdrawn at the last moment from the local branch of the Women's Social and Political Union, offers have since been made by the B.S.P. and others to accommodate the militant Suffragists. One very interesting offer was made by a clergyman, who came up to the speaker at an open-air meeting and offered his church if no other meeting-place was available!

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Faced Cloth, Covert Coating 3 3 0
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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MADAME ALICE GODFREY'S Dramatic Recital at Steinway Hall, Friday, May 30 at 8.15. Tickets, 2s., 3s., 5s. Steinway Hall, and of Madame Godfrey, 2, Crossfield Road, Hampstead.

TO PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES. A good opening presents itself at Dover for an Independent Unionist Candidate in favour of Women's Suffrage.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organiser, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting in Portman Rooms, Baker Street (entrance in Dorset Street), on Wednesday afternoon, May 28, at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. Bracher on "Woman's Suffrage in New Zealand," and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken by Mrs. Despard.

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BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel., 1702.

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FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

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PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

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BUNGALOW, LITTLE CLACTON, 3 miles from sea; well furnished; 2 bed, 1 sitting-room, kitchen, cycle shed; near church. Terms, 15s. weekly for June.—Baxter, 43, Limes Avenue, New Southgate, N.

CHORLEYWOOD. — Pretty Modern house to let, furnished, summer months or longer; 2 reception, 4 bedrooms; bath, hot and cold; large garden, with tent. Beautiful woods, Common; golf, bracing air; terms, 2½ guineas.—Mrs. Offer, Home Cot.

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HOLIDAYS IN LONDON.—Well-furnished house, with large garden, in South London's prettiest suburb, to let for a month, from about middle of June.—Box 368, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

WOMAN and the MOTOR-CAR.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W. Ladies can join all our classes of instruction. Prospectus free on application. 150 test questions and answers on motoring. Questions free. Answers, 1s. 1d., by post. 20,000 sold.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

TO THE LEADERS OF THE VOTES FOR WOMEN MOVEMENT.—A young Irishman, journalist, wishing to support the Votes for Women Cause, would be glad to hear of a Vacancy. Could organise, write, or help in any way. Not afraid; best references.—Energy, c/o VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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